

# ABDI (MTS)

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## Finn`s opinions on foreign and security policy

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## FOREWORD

A survey commissioned by the Advisory Board for Defence Information (ABDI) explored the opinions of Finnish people on Finnish foreign and security policy as well as defence policy. The survey also included questions on factors relating to safety and citizens' sense of security pertaining to developments concerning the next five years, on factors giving rise to concern and confidence over the future of the European Union as well as on preparing against various threats and on export of defence materiel. There were 19 questions.

ABDI has conducted annual opinion polls since its establishment in 1976. There are two questions raised by ABDI's predecessor, the Advisory Board for Mental Defence from 1964 to 1975.

Commissioned by ABDI, the survey was carried out by market research company Taloustutkimus Oy. The study was conducted as a part of omnibus research in the form of personal interviews. Interviews were carried out with a total of 1011 individuals. The target group of the study comprised the entire population between the ages of 15 and 79, with the exception of the Åland Islands. The sample was formed by quota sampling in which the target group's quotas were the distribution of age, gender, province and municipality. The interviews were conducted in 89 localities, 54 of which were cities and the remaining 35 other municipality types. The sample was weighted to match the target group. The weighted N values correspond to the population aged 15 to 79 in thousands (SVT 31/12/2018).

The interviews were conducted between 14 November and 3 December 2019. The survey's margin of error is about 3.2 percentage points in either direction.

When interpreting background variables related to party affiliation, it must be taken into account that the margin of error regarding the large parties is smaller, which enables the collection of more reliable information on these when compared to smaller parties whose supporters are numerically fewer in the sample. Only those parties whose voting was supported by more than 50 respondents have been included in the scoreboard.

Party affiliation was ascertained by asking the following question: “Which party would you vote for if parliamentary elections were held now?” Of all of the respondents, 76 per cent (767 persons) revealed their party affiliation, while 24 per cent (242) declined to do so. In 2018, the corresponding numbers were 68 per cent and 32 per cent.

Unweighted and weighted material by age group is divided as follows:

	Unweighted n	Unweighted %	Weighted N	Weighted %
15–19 years	69	7 %	275	6 %
20–24 years	86	9 %	342	8 %
25–34 years	160	16 %	652	15 %
35–49 years	241	24 %	1055	24 %
50–64 years	207	20 %	1089	25 %
65–79 years	248	25 %	897	21 %

In the material, the 50-64-year-olds are somewhat under-represented. Over-representation and under-representation were corrected by weighting.

The division of regions is divided into three: South Finland (number of respondents 569), including the large areas of Helsinki Uusimaa and Southern Finland, Western Finland (number of respondents 210), including the large area of Western Finland, and Eastern Finland/Oulu/Lappi (number of respondents 232), including the large area of Northern and Eastern Finland. The table below shows the number and proportion of respondents in unweighted and weighted material at the level of large areas.

	Unweighted n	Unweighted %	Weighted N	Weighted %
Helsinki-Uusimaa	335	33 %	1327	31 %
Southern Finland	234	23 %	798	19 %
Western Finland	210	21 %	1281	30 %
Northern and Eastern Finland	232	23 %	903	21 %

In unweighted material, the large areas of Helsinki-Uusimaa and Southern Finland are somewhat over-represented. Over-representation and under-representation were corrected by weighting.

The report comprises a text section with illustrating figures that also present the time sequence of the questions asked in previous surveys. These illustrations were prepared by Taloustutkimus Oy. Some of the questions represent a continuous sequence since 1964. The questions were drawn up by the research and work branches of ABDI. The research branch compiled the report for the work branch.

The data from this survey, like that of the previous surveys, are stored in the Finnish Social Science Data Archive at the University of Tampere ([www.fsd.uta.fi](http://www.fsd.uta.fi)).

ABDI's survey reports are available in Finnish, Swedish and English on ABDI's home page ([www.defmin.fi/mts](http://www.defmin.fi/mts)).

In Sweden, the 'Myndighet för Samhällsskydd och Beredskap' (MSB) conducts similar surveys. Their next report will be published in spring 2020 and can be accessed here: <https://www.msb.se/sv/Produkter--tjanster/Publikationer>

Also in Norway, the 'Folk og Forsvar' conducts annual surveys on security and defence policy; their most recent report was published in August 2019. It can be accessed here: <https://www.folkogforsvar.no/meningsmalinger/>

The survey reports published by ABDI are in the public domain. When referring to them, reference must be made stating that the data come from a survey conducted by ABDI





# Content

<b>FOREWORD</b> .....	3
<b>Summary</b> .....	9
Finnish national defence will strengthened .....	9
Personal will to defend the country remains very strong.....	9
Support for the current conscription system has increased.....	10
Conscription is seen as the basis for Finland's defence system.....	10
Decreased concern .....	10
Preparedness for various threats is felt to have improved.....	10
National defence will is strengthened.....	11
Why Finland should or should not be militarily defended in all situations, even if the result seems uncertain? .....	13
Independence, freedom and one's own country were important reasons for defending Finland .....	13
We should find better solutions to problems than guns .....	13
Personal will to defend the country remains very strong.....	14
Support for the current conscription system increased .....	14
Conscription is seen as the basis for Finland's defence system.....	16
Support for general civic service decreased .....	17
Confidence in the management of foreign policy is strong .....	18
Support for military alignment strengthened .....	18
Proportion of those who have a negative attitude towards NATO membership increased .....	19
General feeling of insecurity increased.....	20
Membership in the European Union has strengthened Finland's security.....	20
Confidence over the future of the European Union remains unchanged .....	21
Defence cooperation with the Nordic countries and the European Union is seen as increasing Finland's security the most .....	22
Increased confidence in the management of defence policy.....	23
Strong support for Finland's military cooperation.....	24
Military situation in Finland's neighbouring areas is expected to remain the same.....	24
Support for the current level and increase of defence appropriations.....	25
Support for export of defence materiel with current regulations.....	26
Decreased concern .....	26
Preparedness for various threats is felt to have improved.....	27
<b>Research Branch of ABDI in 2019–2023</b> .....	28
<b>Chairs of ABDI 2019–2023</b> .....	28
<b>Secretariat of ABDI</b> .....	28



## Summary

### **Finnish national defence will strengthened**

In the results of last year's opinion poll, the decline in the national defence will attracted the greatest attention. Based on the results of 2019, the decline in national defence will has halted and turned into a slight increase, including also the youngest age group.

This year, we asked the respondents to explain, in their own words, their answer to the question "Should Finns defend themselves militarily in all situations, even if the outcome seems uncertain?" The most important reasons given by those who answered the question in the affirmative highlighted independence, the country of birth, duty and freedom.

Those who answered the question in the negative gave as the most important reasons that diplomacy and negotiations are the primary means and, furthermore, that the use of weapons does not solve problems.

### **Personal will to defend the country remains very strong**

More than eight out of ten are prepared to participate in different national defence tasks according to their own capabilities and skills, both men and women and all age groups. The question has been raised eleven times since 1995, and the results have been similar each time.

## **Support for the current conscription system has increased**

The maintenance of the current conscription system is supported by nearly eight out of ten men; a year ago the figure was seven out of ten. The current conscription system is supported by more than seven out of ten women, as was the case a year ago.

## **Conscription is seen as the basis for Finland's defence system**

Two out of three consider that Finland's defence system should be based on the general conscription of men and voluntary military service for women, which is the current system. Support for this has increased by six percentage points compared to the survey a year ago.

## **Decreased concern**

Since 2004, ABDI has asked to what extent different factors and phenomena cause concern for the future. This year, 18 phenomena were included. In almost all cases, concern has decreased compared to last year. The five most worrying factors are the same as last year, but the order has changed slightly. Today, the world's refugee situation and international terrorism are at the forefront, followed by the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and climate change while organised crime was raised as a new issue.

## **Preparedness for various threats is felt to have improved**

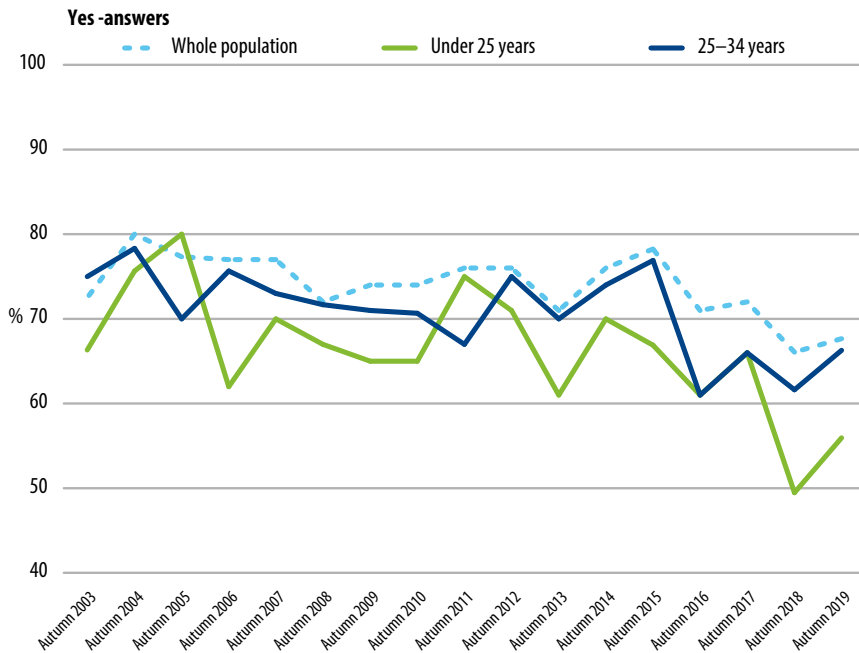
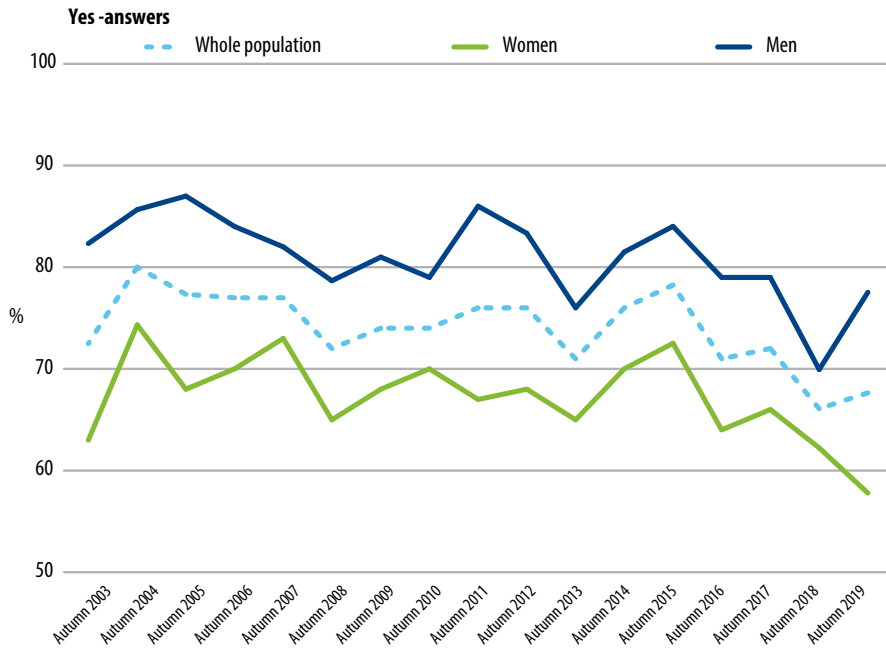
The previous time respondents were asked to assess preparedness for 12 different threats was two years ago. For each threat, it is estimated that preparedness is better than before.

## National defence will is strengthened

Two thirds of respondents, or 68% (66% in 2018), feel that if Finland is attacked, Finns must defend themselves by military means in all situations, even if the outcome is uncertain. This view was expressed by 78% (70% in 2018) of men and 58 per cent (62%) of women. Seventy-four per cent (72%) of those over 50 years of age feel this way, as do 66% (62%) of those between 25 and 34, 64% (69%) of those between 35 and 49 and 56% (49%) of respondents under 25 of age. *(Figures 1A and 1B)*

**Figure 1A and 1B Will to defend the country**

*'If Finland were attacked, should Finns, in your opinion, take up arms to defend themselves in all situations, even if the outcome seemed uncertain?'*



Eighty-two per cent (80% in 2018) of Centre Party supporters answered in the affirmative, as did 81% (65%) of Coalition Party supporters, 76% (73%) of Finns Party supporters, 63% (71%) of Social Democratic Party (SDP) supporters, 60 per cent (36%) of Green Party supporters and 46 per cent (55%) of Left Alliance supporters.

One fifth, or 19% (23% in 2018) think that Finns should not defend themselves militarily in all situations. Twenty-four percent of women (23% in 2018) and 15% of men (22%) share this view.

One third or 34% (30% in 2018) of Left Alliance supporters answered in the negative, as did 23% (49%) of Green Party supporters, 22% (21%) of SDP supporters, 17% (21%) of Finns Party supporters, 15% (24%) of Coalition Party supporters and 10% (15%) of Centre Party supporters.

A total of 13% (11% in 2018) had no opinion, 19% (14%) of women and eight per cent (22%) of men.

### **Why Finland should or should not be militarily defended in all situations, even if the result seems uncertain?**

In this survey, we asked those who responded to the question on the defence will to justify their position. Each person could give, in his or her own words, a maximum of three reasons in their answer.

### **Independence, freedom and one's own country were important reasons for defending Finland**

The respondents gave a total of over 1,000 reasons. While independence, patriotism, own country, freedom and duty were most often mentioned as reasons to defend the country it was also noted that Finland is a good country worth defending.

### **We should find better solutions to problems than guns**

The respondents to the question of the will to defend the country gave over 350 reasons for their answer in the negative. The preference for diplomacy and negotiations as well as the loss of life were highlighted in the answers. Nuclear weapons, the small size of Finland and the powerlessness to prepare were also brought up. (*Figures 1 and 2*)

## Personal will to defend the country remains very strong

Questions: When asked 'Would you be ready to take part in national defence duties to the best of your abilities?' eighty-five per cent (84% in 2018) answered in the affirmative; 88% (89%) of men and 82% (80%) of women.

There are not great differences between age groups on this issue: those aged 25–34 gave the most positive responses, 88% (86% in 2018) while 83% (85%) of those aged over 50, 84% (75%) of those aged under 25 and 87% (88%) of those aged 35–49 answered in the affirmative. (*Figures 3 and 4*)

## Support for the current conscription system increased

Seventy-seven per cent (74% in 2018) of the respondents support maintaining the current defence appropriations, with 81% of men (72%) and 73% of women (75%) expressing this opinion. Eighty-two per cent (84%) of those over 50 years of age think this way; 80% (56%) of those under 25; 72% (58%) of those 25 to 34 years of age; and 67% (75%) of those 35 to 49 years of age.



**Figures 5A and 5B General conscription**

*Based on a general, compulsory military service for men, Finnish military defence provides military training for as many of the same age group as possible, thus producing a large reserve personnel. Should the current system be retained or should we change over to a selective conscript service where only a part of the same age group receives military training and the number of those in the reserve is reduced? Or should we change over to a smaller, professional army?*



Eighty-seven per cent (91% in 2018) of Centre Party supporters are in favour of the current system, as are 85% (77%) of Coalition Party supporters, 84% (81%) of Finns Party supporters, 73% (81%) of SDP supporters, 63% (51%) of Green Party supporters and 48% (55%) of Left Alliance supporters.

Eleven per cent (13% in 2018) are in favour of changing over to a selective conscript service, 12% (12%) of women and 11% (13%) of men. Of Left Alliance supporters, 33% (21%) think this way while 20% (28%) of Green Party supporters, 14% (15%) of SDP supporters; 9% (12%) of Coalition Party supporters, 5% (7%) of Finns Party supporters; and 4% (3%) of Centre Party supporters agree.

A total of nine per cent (9% in 2018) were in favour of a professional army, with 12% (8%) of women and 7% (11%) of men expressing this view. (*Figures 5 and 6*)

## Conscription is seen as the basis for Finland's defence system

Two out of three, 65% (59% in 2018) consider that Finland's defence system should be based on the current practice of general military service for men and voluntary military service for women. Sixty-seven per cent of men (61%) and 62% of women (57%) share this view.

Seventy-one per cent of respondents over 50 years of age (69% in 2018) hold this view, along with 64% (45%) of under 25-year-olds, 61% (60%) of 35–49-year-olds and 55% (45%) of 25–34-year-olds.

Seventy-four per cent (82% in 2018) of Centre Party supporters are in favour of the current conscription system, as are 73% (66%) of Coalition Party supporters, 70% (60%) of Finns Party supporters, 68% (70%) of SDP supporters, 50% (47%) of Green Party supporters and 35% (34%) of Left Alliance supporters.

Fifteen per cent (17% in 2018) of respondents, or 17 per cent (16%) of men and 13% (18%) of women, support conscription for men and women. This view was held by 19 per cent of Left Alliance supporters (34%), 18% (11%) of SDP supporters, 17% (16%) of Green Party supporters, 15% (15%) of Coalition Party supporters, and 13% (12% and 12%) of Centre Party and Finns Party supporters.

Twelve per cent (13% in 2018) of respondents, or 15% (14%) of women and 10% (12%) of men, support conscription for men and women on a voluntary basis. Of Left Alliance supporters, 33% (21%) are in favour of this view, as are 23% (21%) of Green Party supporters, 8% (9%) of Coalition Party supporters, 7% (15%) of Finns Party supporters, and 5% (16% and 1% respectively) of SDP and Centre Party supporters.

Six per cent (8% in 2018) think that Finland's defence should be based on a professional army, or 8% (6%) of women and 5% (10%) of men. (*Figure 7*)

## Support for general civic service decreased

Just under half, 48% (55% in 2018) welcome the transition to general civic service for both men and women in Finland. This view was expressed by 52 per cent (56%) of men and 44 per cent (53%) of women. Among the 25-34-year-olds, 59% (53%) take the most positive view while 48% (54%) of the over 50-year-olds, 45 (53%) of the 35-49-year-olds and 43% (61%) of the under 25-year-olds also view this idea favourably.

Fifty-seven per cent (64% in 2018) of the Green Party supporters are in favour of general civic service, as are 54 per cent (52%) of the Coalition Party supporters, 50 per cent (52%) of the Centre Party supporters, 49 per cent (55%) of the SDP supporters, 44 per cent (58%) of the Left Alliance supporters and 40 per cent (64%) of the Finns Party supporters.

A total of 39 per cent (32% in 2018) of respondents answered the question in the negative; 41 per cent (32%) of women and 37 per cent (32%) of men. A total of 52 per cent (33%) of the Finns Party supporters expressed negative views, along with 45 per cent (36%) of the Left Alliance supporters, 39 per cent (37%) of the Coalition Party supporters, 35 per cent (35%) of the Centre Party supporters, 34 per cent (30%) of the Green Party supporters and 33 per cent (31%) of the SDP supporters.

Thirteen per cent (13% in 2018) have no opinion; 15% (14%) of women and 11% (12%) of men. (*Figure 8*)

## Confidence in the management of foreign policy is strong

Seventy-two per cent of the respondents (70% in 2018) think that Finnish foreign policy is managed well, with 74 per cent (75%) of men and 71 per cent (66%) of women taking this view. Seventy-nine per cent (77%) of those over 50 years of age feel this way, as do 68 per cent (70%) of those between 35 and 49, 69 per cent (59%) of those between 25 and 34 and 64 per cent (66%) of respondents under 25 years.

Of the supporters of the Coalition Party, 89 per cent (83% in 2018) think that Finnish foreign policy is well managed; 81 per cent (81%) of the SDP supporters; 76 per cent (67%) of the Green Party supporters; 74 per cent (81%) of the Centre Party supporters; 71 per cent (51%) of the Left Alliance supporters; and 66 per cent (59%) of the Finns Party supporters agree.

A fifth, 19% (21% in 2018), regards foreign policy as poorly managed. This view was held by 20 per cent (21%) of women and 19 per cent (20%) of men.

Of the supporters of the Finns Party, 28% (35% in 2018) think that Finnish foreign policy is poorly managed as do 21 (35%) of Left Alliance supporters; 14% of SDP and Green Party supporters (17% and 17%); 18% (18%) of Centre Party supporters; and 11% (11%) of Coalition Party supporters.

A total of eight per cent (9% in 2018) of respondents, or 10 per cent (13%) of women and six per cent (4%) of men, had no opinion. (*Figures 9 and 10*)

## Support for military alignment strengthened

A little more than a fourth of respondents, or 28% (25% in 2018) feel that Finland should seek military alignment, with 35% (27%) of men and 21% (22%) of women responding in the affirmative. Thirty-four per cent (24%) of those between 25 and 34 feel this way, as do 33% (23%) of those between 35 and 49, 25% (36%) of those under 25 and 24% (22%) of respondents over 50 years old.

Fifty-five per cent (35% in 2018) of Coalition Party supporters are in favour of military alignment, as are 38% (25%) of Finns Party supporters, 23% (38%) of

Green Party supporters, 22% (24%) of Centre Party supporters, 20% (18%) of SDP supporters and 14% (16%) of Left Alliance supporters.

More than half of the respondents, or 57% (58% in 2018) support Finland's military non-alignment; 57% (63%) of men and 58% (54%) of women. Forty-five per cent (53%) of those between 25 and 34 feel this way, as do 50% (63%) of those between 35 and 49, 53% (42%) of those under 25 and 66% (63%) of respondents over 50.

Of the supporters of the Left Alliance, 75% (67% in 2018) are in favour of military non-alignment as are 69% (71%) of SDP supporters, 66% (69%) of Centre Party supporters, 60% (41%) of Green Party supporters, 55% (54%) of Finns Party supporters; and 37% (50%) of Coalition Party supporters agree.

Fifteen percent (17% in 2018) have no opinion; 21% (24%) of women and 9% (10%) of men. (*Figures 11 and 12*)

## Proportion of those who have a negative attitude towards NATO membership increased

Two thirds, 64% (59% in 2018) believe that Finland should not seek membership of NATO. This view was expressed by 67 per cent (62%) of men and 61 per cent (56%) of women.

Eighty-eight per cent (78% in 2018) of Left Alliance supporters answered in the negative, as did 77% (65%) of SDP supporters, 73% (73%) of Centre Party supporters, 66% (61%) of Finns Party supporters, 65% (48%) of Green Party supporters and 38% (43%) of Coalition Party supporters.

One fifth of respondents, or 20% (20% in 2017) feel that Finland should seek NATO membership, with 24% (25%) of men and 17% (16%) of women responding in the affirmative.

Of the supporters of the Coalition Party, 46% (37% in 2018) support membership in NATO as do 25% (19%) of Finns Party supporters; 18% (17%) of Centre Party supporters; 15% (23%) of Green Party supporters; 13% (23%) of SDP supporters; and 7% (6%) of Left Alliance supporters agree.

Sixteen percent (21% in 2018) have no opinion; 22% (28%) of women and 10% (13%) of men. (*Figures 13 and 14*)

## General feeling of insecurity increased

Around half of respondents, or 53% (49% in 2018), believe that Finland and Finns will be living in a more insecure world over the next five years when compared to today. This view was held by 57% (56%) of women and 50% (42%) of men.

Sixty-two per cent (54% in 2018) of 35-49-year-olds feel less secure about the future, as do 58% (48%) of 25-34-year-olds, 50% (52%) of over 50-year-olds and 44% (33%) of under 25-year-olds.

Just under one third of respondents, or 30% (31% in 2018) saw no difference compared to the present, with 32% of men (35%) and 29% of women (27%) giving this response.

Fourteen per cent (18% in 2018) of the respondents believe in a more secure future; 16% (20%) of men and 13% (15%) of women. (*Figures 15 and 16*)

## Membership in the European Union has strengthened Finland's security

For the seventh time, ABDI asked about the impact of the European Union, the UN, the OSCE, NATO, the United States, China and Russia on Finland's security.

Estimated by 69% (65% in 2018), membership in the European Union has a positive impact on Finland's security. According to 14% (14%), the EU has no impact on Finland's security, and 3% consider the impact negative (5%). Twelve per cent (12%) consider it to have both a negative and positive impact.

The UN's impact on Finland's security is seen as positive by 63% (64% in 2018), a fifth or 20% (19%) see no impact by the UN, 8% (8%) see the impact as both positive and negative, and negative by 2% (1%).

Forty-one per cent (47% in 2018) think that the OSCE has a positive impact on Finland's security, 24% (21%) see no impact and 6% (10%) see the impact as both positive and negative. Twenty-eight per cent (22%) had no opinion.

Twenty-eight percent (26% in 2018) regard NATO as having a negative impact on Finland's security while 25% (24%) regard its impact as positive. Twenty-one per cent (26%) regard it to have both a negative and positive impact. Thirteen per cent (13%) do not see NATO as having any impact on Finland's security.

Seventeen per cent (18% in 2018) of the respondents see the impact of the United States as positive while 29% (27%) see it as negative; 28% (32%) see it as both positive and negative. One fifth, 19% (14%) do not see any impact.

Twelve per cent (13% in 2018) of the respondents see the impact of Russia as positive while 39% (39%) see it as negative; 28% (30%) see it as both positive and negative. Thirteen per cent (11%) think that Russia has no impact on Finland's security.

Six per cent (12% in 2018) see the impact of China on Finnish security as positive while 25% (16%) regard it as negative, 18% (21%) see the impact as both positive and negative, and 39% (35%) see no impact. (17 and 18)

## Confidence over the future of the European Union remains unchanged

Two-thirds or 65% (58% in 2018) of the respondents have retained their confidence in the future of the European Union; 64% (57%) of men and 67% (60%) of women.

Of the supporters of the Centre Party, 78% (65% in 2018) believe that confidence in the European Union has remained unchanged while 75% of Green Party supporters (69%), 74% (62%) of Coalition Party supporters, 64% of SDP and Left Alliance supporters (66% and 48%), and 48% (37%) of Finns Party supporters hold this view.

Less than one third, 30% (34% in 2018) estimated that their confidence has deteriorated; this view was held by both men and women. A total of 48 per cent (53%) of Finns Party supporters share this view, along with 34% (44%) of Left Alliance supporters, 32% (29%) of SDP supporters, 20% (32%) of Coalition Party supporters, 18% (32%) of Centre Party supporters and 17% (25%) of Green Party supporters.

Three per cent feel that their confidence has strengthened (4% in 2018). *(Figure 19)*

## Defence cooperation with the Nordic countries and the European Union is seen as increasing Finland's security the most

Since 2004, ABDI has asked about the impact of different phenomena and factors on Finland's security. There are eight different factors involved in this survey.

Factors that are believed to improve security are the following:

Finland's participation in Nordic defence cooperation: 80% (81% in 2018) think that this increases security; 14% (12%) think that it does not impact Finland's security; 2% (1%) think that it reduces security.

Finland's participation in developing the EU defence cooperation: 69% (72% in 2018) think that it increases security; 20% (17%) think that it does not impact Finland's security; 5% (4%) think that it reduces security.

Finland's membership in the European union: 65% (62% in 2018) believe that it increases security; 24% (25%) believe that it has no impact on Finland's security; 8% (9%) believe that it reduces Finland's security.

Finland's increasing international economic interaction: 51% (59% in 2018) believe that it increases security; 36% (29%) believe it has no impact on Finland's security; 8% (6%) believe it reduces security.



Finland's participation in international crisis management duties: 50% (50% in 2018) think that it increases security; 36% (34%) think that it has no impact; 8% (10%) think that it reduces security.

Finland's military non-alignment: 45% (46% in 2018) feel that it increases security; 27% (25%) feel that it has no impact; 17% (17%) feel it reduces security.

Finland's possible membership in NATO: 27% (25% in 2018) say it would increase security; 17% (19%) say it would have no impact; 41% (40%) say it would reduce security.

Increasing share of foreign ownership in the Finnish economy: 7% (8% in 2018) say it increases security; 28% (22%) say it has no impact; 57% (62%) say it reduces security. (*Figures 20–23*)

## Increased confidence in the management of defence policy

Four out of five, or 80% (75% in 2018) consider Finland's defence policy well managed. This view was expressed by 82% (78%) of men and 77% (73%) of women.

Of the supporters of the SDP and Centre Party, 84% (85% and 93% respectively in 2018) think that Finnish foreign policy is well managed; 83% (67%) of Green Party supporters; 82% (61%) of Finns Party supporters; 81% (85%) of Coalition Party supporters; and 67% (50%) of Left Alliance supporters agree.

Twelve per cent (14% in 2018) of the respondents consider that Finland's defence policy is poorly managed; 13% (16%) of men and 10% (11%) of women.

Of the supporters of the Coalition Party, 15% (7% in 2018) think that Finnish foreign policy is poorly managed; 14% of Centre Party and Left Alliance supporters (13% and 28% respectively); 12% of Finns Party supporters (27%); 10% (11%) of Green Party supporters; and 9% of SDP supporters (10%) agree. (*Figures 24 and 25*)

## Strong support for Finland's military cooperation

Ninety-six per cent (94% in 2018) of the respondents take a positive view on military cooperation with Sweden and 94% (95%) view favourably military cooperation with all the Nordic countries.

Eighty-eight percent take a positive view on military cooperation in the European Union (90% in 2018).

Fifty-seven per cent (55% in 2018) of the respondents take a positive view on military cooperation with NATO while 34% (35%) have a negative view.

Fifty-two percent (55% in 2018) of the respondents take a positive view on military cooperation with the United States while 42% (36%) are opposed to it. (*Figures 26–31*)

## Military situation in Finland's neighbouring areas is expected to remain the same

Fifty-one per cent (48% in 2018) estimate that the military situation in Finland's neighbouring areas will remain as it currently is in the next ten years. Fifty-four per cent of men (52%) and 48% of women (45%) share this view.

Seventy per cent (47% in 2017) of Centre Party supporters answered this question in the affirmative, as did 63% (59%) of SDP supporters; 54% (48%) of Green Party supporters; 51% (54%) of Coalition Party supporters; 48% (37%) of Left Alliance supporters; and 31% (53%) of Finns Party supporters.

Forty-two per cent of the respondents (41% in 2018), or 46% (47%) of women and 38% (35%) of men, feel that the situation may become more threatening over the next ten years.

A total of 63% (37%) of Finns Party supporters expressed negative views, along with 42% of Coalition Party and Left Alliance supporters (41% and 52% respectively); 40% (40%) of Green Party supporters; 30% (33%) of SDP supporters; and 26% (44%) of Centre Party supporters.

Four per cent of respondents (6% in 2018), or 2% (4%) of women and 6% (9%) of men, see the situation as less threatening. (*Figures 32 and 33*)

## Support for the current level and increase of defence appropriations

Less than half, or 46% (40% in 2018), are of the opinion that defence appropriations must remain unchanged. Forty-eight percent of women (46%) and 45% of men (34%) share this view.

This view was supported by 51% of Green Party supporters (45% in 2018); 47% (53%) of Centre Party supporters; 46% (47%) of SDP supporters; 45% (37%) of Coalition Party supporters; 44% (35%) of Left Alliance supporters; and 40% (21%) of Finns Party supporters agree.

A third, or 34% (40% in 2018) of the respondents support increasing defence appropriations, with 42% of men (48%) and 27% of women (34%) expressing this opinion.

Fifty-one per cent (49% in 2018) of Coalition Party supporters are in favour of increasing defence appropriations, as are 49% (61%) of Finns Party supporters; 35% (45%) of Centre Party supporters; 32% (41%) of SDP supporters; 24% (28%) of Green Party supporters; and 16% (20%) of Left Alliance supporters.

Thirteen per cent (12% in 2018) are in favour of cutting defence appropriations; 15% (9%) of women and 11% (15%) of men.

Thirty-six per cent (33% in 2018) of Left Alliance supporters are in favour of cutting defence appropriations, as were 17% (22%) of Green Party supporters; 14% (6%) of SDP supporters; 11% (2%) of Centre Party supporters; 7% (10%) of Finns Party supporters; 4% (10%) of Coalition Party supporters. (*Figures 34 and 35*)

## Support for export of defence materiel with current regulations

Just under half of respondents, or 46% (49% in 2018), think that the export of defence materiel should continue in line with the current practices and regulations. Fifty-three per cent of men (59%) and 38% of women (38%) share this view.

One third, or 33% (31% in 2018), think that the export licence process for defence materiel should be tightened; 40% (39%) of women and 27% (23%) of men.

Six per cent (5% in 2018) believe that exports of defence materiel should be allowed everywhere. Five per cent (6% in 2018) would ban exports of military equipment altogether. (*Figure 36*)

## Decreased concern

Since 2004, ABDI has asked to what extent different phenomena and factors cause concern for the future. In this survey, 18 different factors were included, two of which are completely new, the dissolution of arms control agreements and organised crime.

It can be noted that compared to last year there has been a decline in concern in almost all factors. Concern for climate change and concern for development in the European Union, 14 percentage points, has decreased most.

Factors causing much or some concern:

- The world's refugee situation 82% (87% in 2018);
- International terrorism 81% (88% in 2018);
- Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction 75% (82% in 2018);
- Climate change 75% (89% in 2018);
- Political extremist movements 75% (82% in 2018);
- Organised crime 75% (new item)
- Cyber threats 71% (79% in 2018);
- Situation in the Middle East 71% (77% in 2018);

- Dissolution of arms control agreements 69% (new item)
- Social inequality in Finland 65% (76% in 2018);
- Employment situation in Finland 64% (71% in 2018);
- Security situation in the Baltic Sea area 63% (76% in 2018);
- Developments in the United States 62% (72% in 2018);
- Racism 61% (78% in 2018);
- Development in Russia 59% (71% in 2018);
- State-sponsored fake news against Finland 49% (62% in 2018);
- Situation in Ukraine 44% (43% in 2017);
- Development in the European Union 42% (56% in 2018)

*(Figures 36–41)*

## Preparedness for various threats is felt to have improved

The question includes 12 different threats and the respondents assess the level of preparedness for them. For almost all of them, it was estimated that we are now better prepared than in 2017, when the question was last polled.

Assessing whether preparedness for a threat is very good or rather good gave the following results:

- Contagious diseases, epidemics, 88% (84% in 2017);
- Major accidents 86% (80% in 2017);
- Armed attack 83% (76% in 2017);
- Various environmental threats 81% (79% in 2017);
- Availability of energy 71% (74% in 2017);
- Terrorism 62% (53% in 2017)
- Climate change 60% (61% in 2017);
- International crime 58% (49% in 2017);
- Political pressure from abroad 57% (55% in 2017);
- Cyber attacks 57% (50% in 2017);
- Economic pressure from abroad 49% (49% in 2017);
- Economic crisis 42% (42% in 2017))

*(Figures 42–45)*

## Research Branch of ABDI in 2019–2023

Chair:	Ilkka Kanerva, Member of Parliament
Vice-Chair:	Timo Perälä, Senior Inspector
Members:	Niclas von Bonsdorff, Director of Public Affairs, LtCol Outi Hyvärinen, Counsellor at the Embassy Johanna Kelhu, Parliamentary Secretary, MSocSc Anni Lahtinen, Secretary General Olli Nyberg, Executive Director Helena Pakarinen, Political Secretary Kari Salmi, Brigadier General (ret.) Jussi Salonranta, Analyst Marika Sorja, Assistant to Member of Parliament Reija Taupila, producer Samuli Voutila, entrepreneur Tuula Väätäinen, Member of Parliament

## Chairs of ABDI 2019–2023

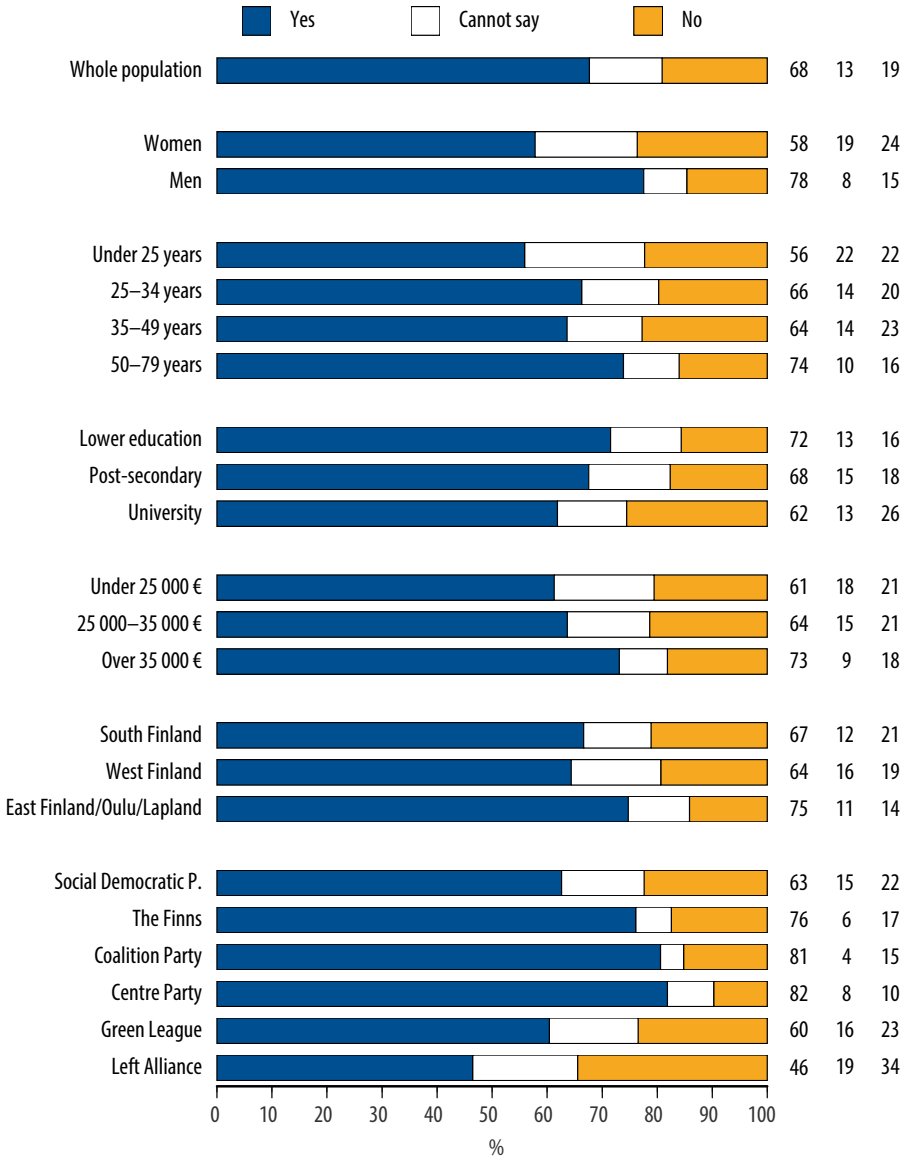
Chair	Harri Järvinen, Communications Manager
Vice-Chair	Asseri Kinnunen, Chair of the Youth League
Vice-Chair	Sofia Vikman, Member of Parliament

## Secretariat of ABDI

Secretary General	Heli Santala
General Secretary	Markus Kinkku

**Figure 1. The will to defend the nation**

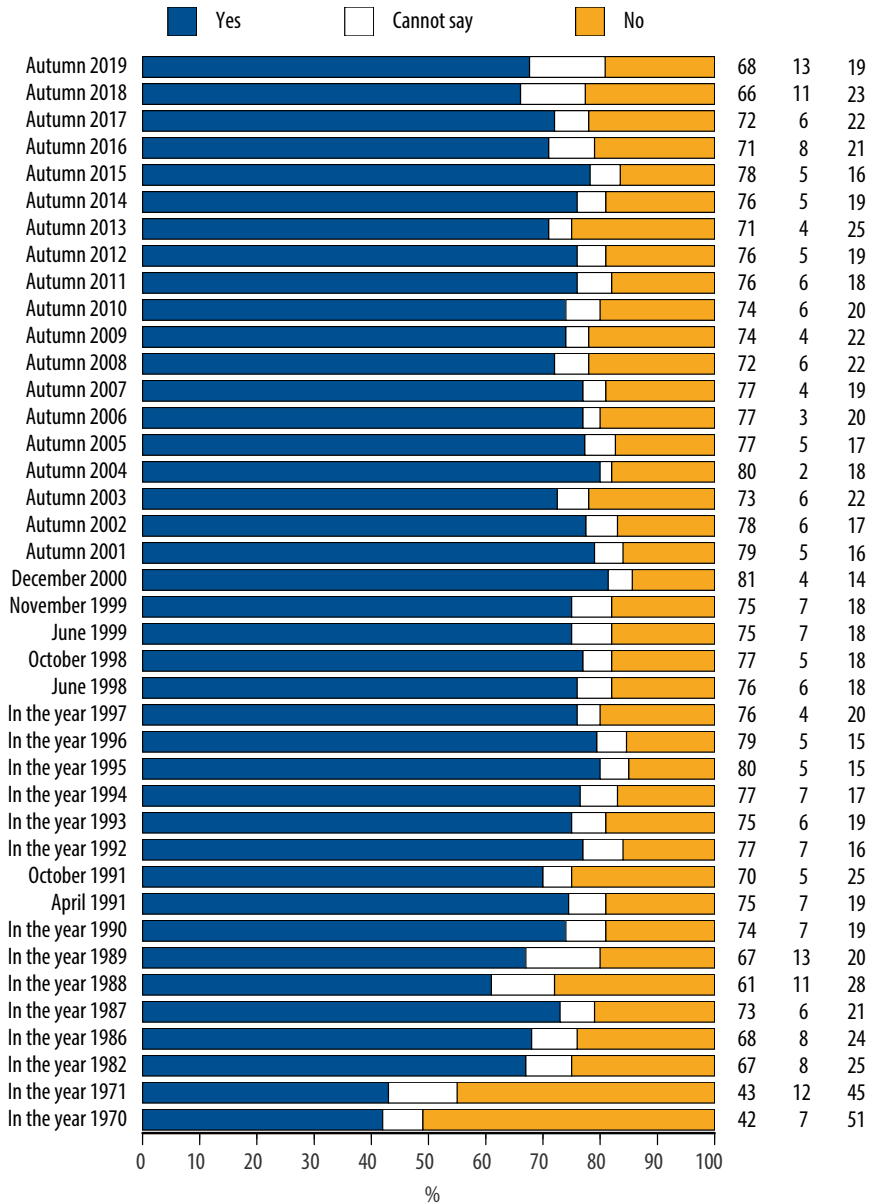
*"If Finland were attacked, should Finns, in your opinion, take up arms to defend themselves in all situations, even if the outcome seemed uncertain?"*



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**Figure 2. The will to defend the nation**

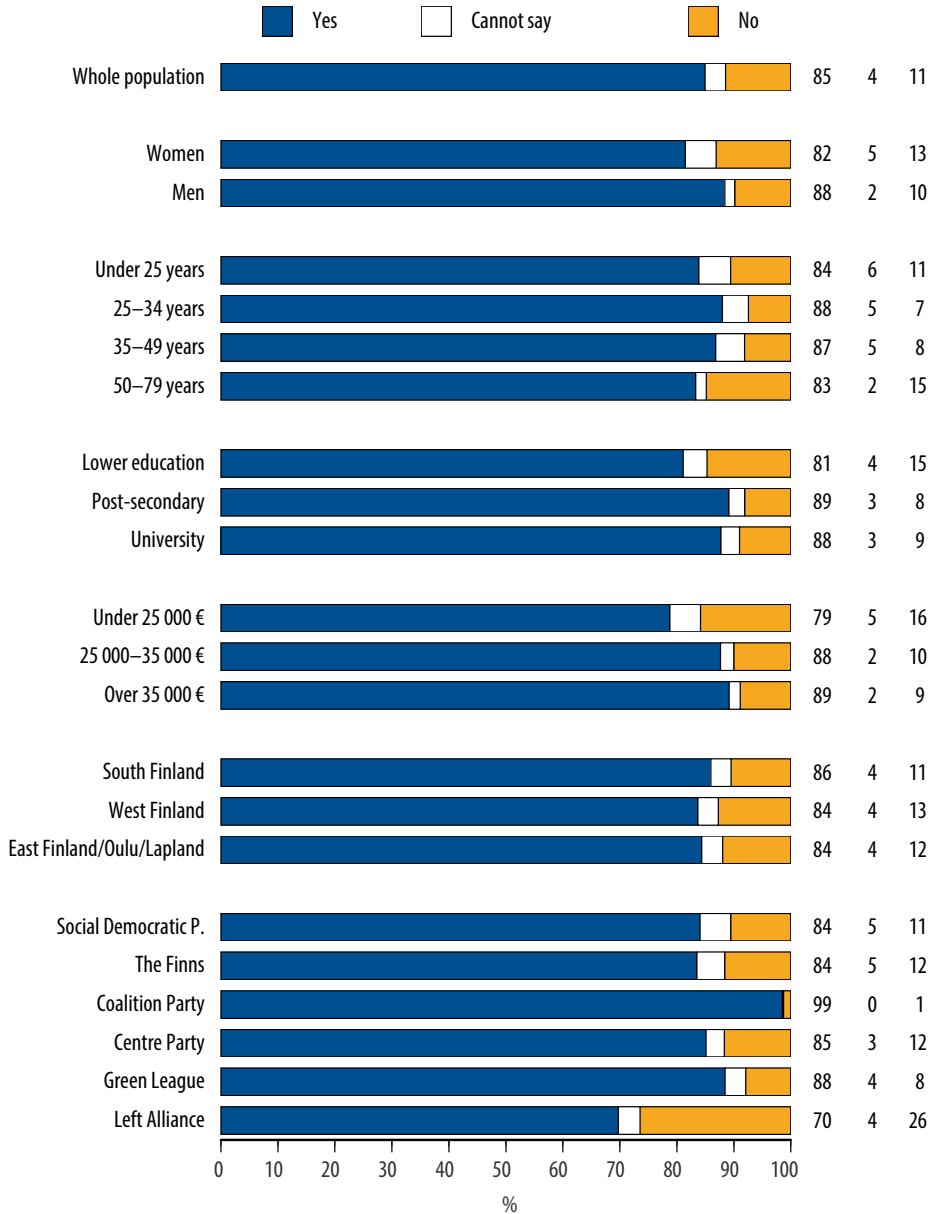
*"If Finland were attacked, should Finns, in your opinion, take up arms to defend themselves in all situations, even if the outcome seemed uncertain?"*





**Figure 3. The will to defend the country (personal level)**

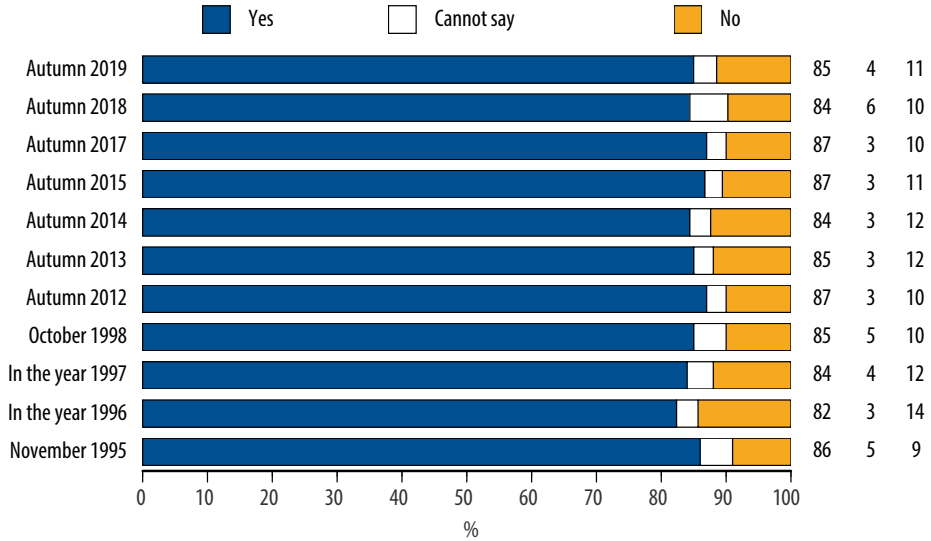
*"If Finland is attacked, would you personally be ready to take part in national defence tasks according to your competences and skills?"*



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**Figure 4. The will to defend the country (personal level)**

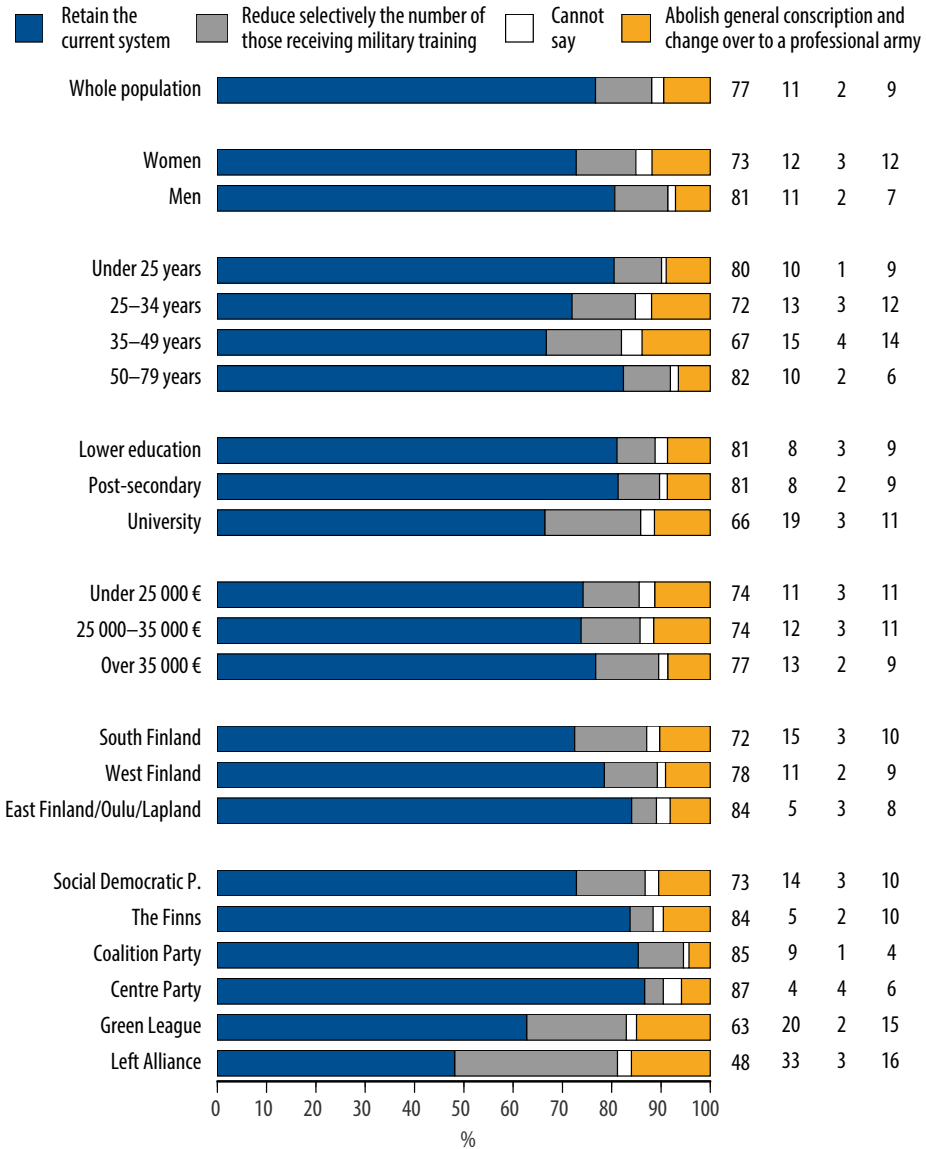
*"If Finland is attacked, would you personally be ready to take part in national defence tasks according to your competences and skills?"*



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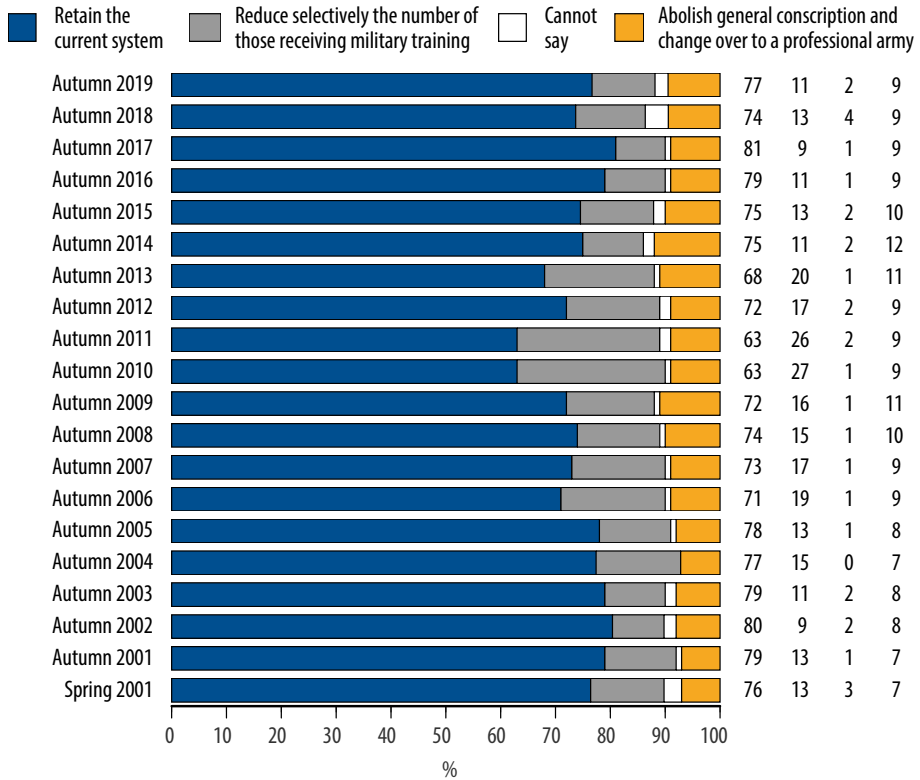
**Figure 5. General conscription**

*"Based on a general, compulsory military service for men, Finnish military defence provides military training for as many of the same age group as possible, thus producing a large reserve personnel. Should the current system be retained or should we change over to a selective conscript service where only a part of the same age group receives military training? Or should we change over to a professional army?"*



**Figure 6. General conscription**

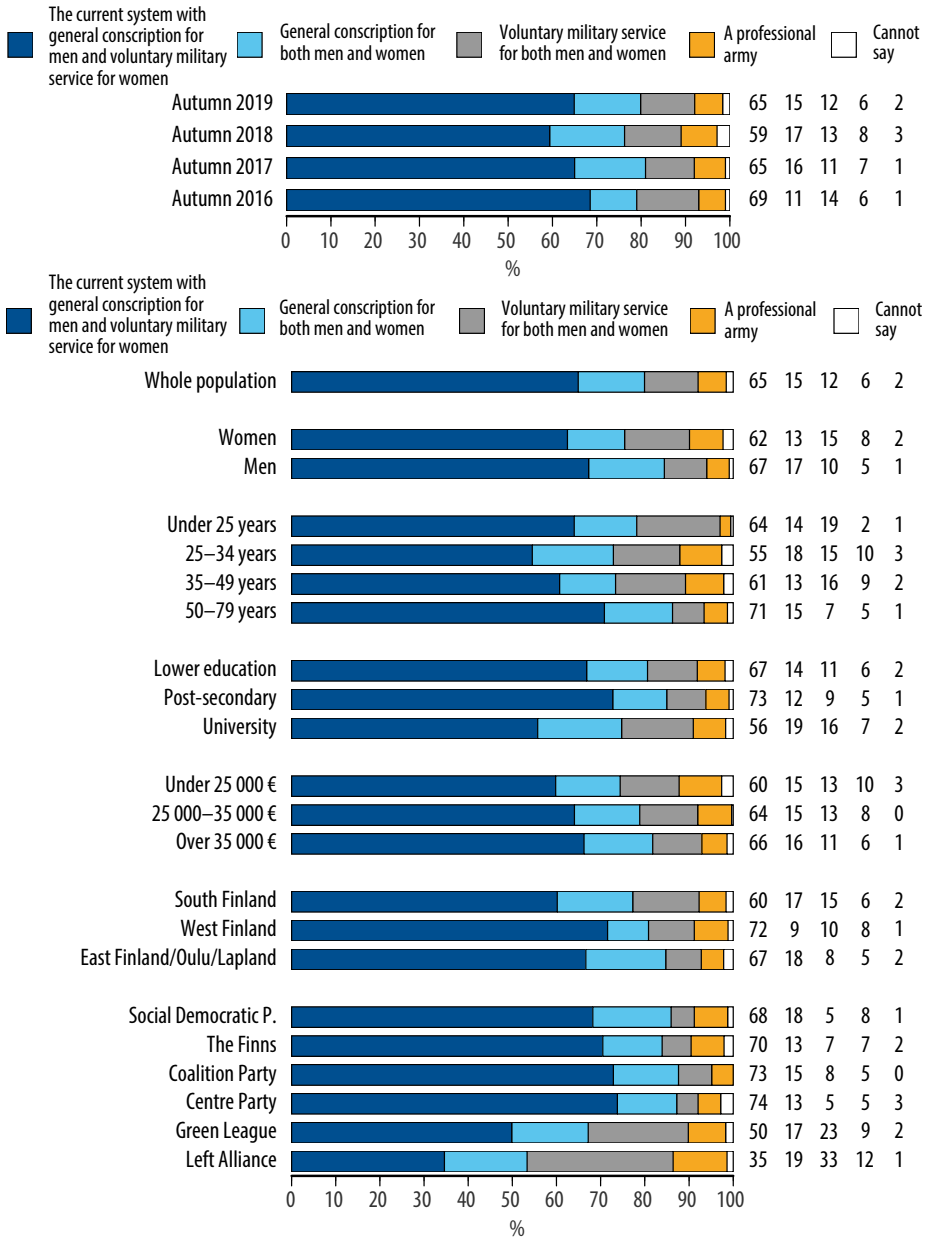
*"Based on a general, compulsory military service for men, Finnish military defence provides military training for as many of the same age group as possible, thus producing a large reserve personnel. Should the current system be retained or should we change over to a selective conscript service where only a part of the same age group receives military training? Or should we change over to a professional army?"*



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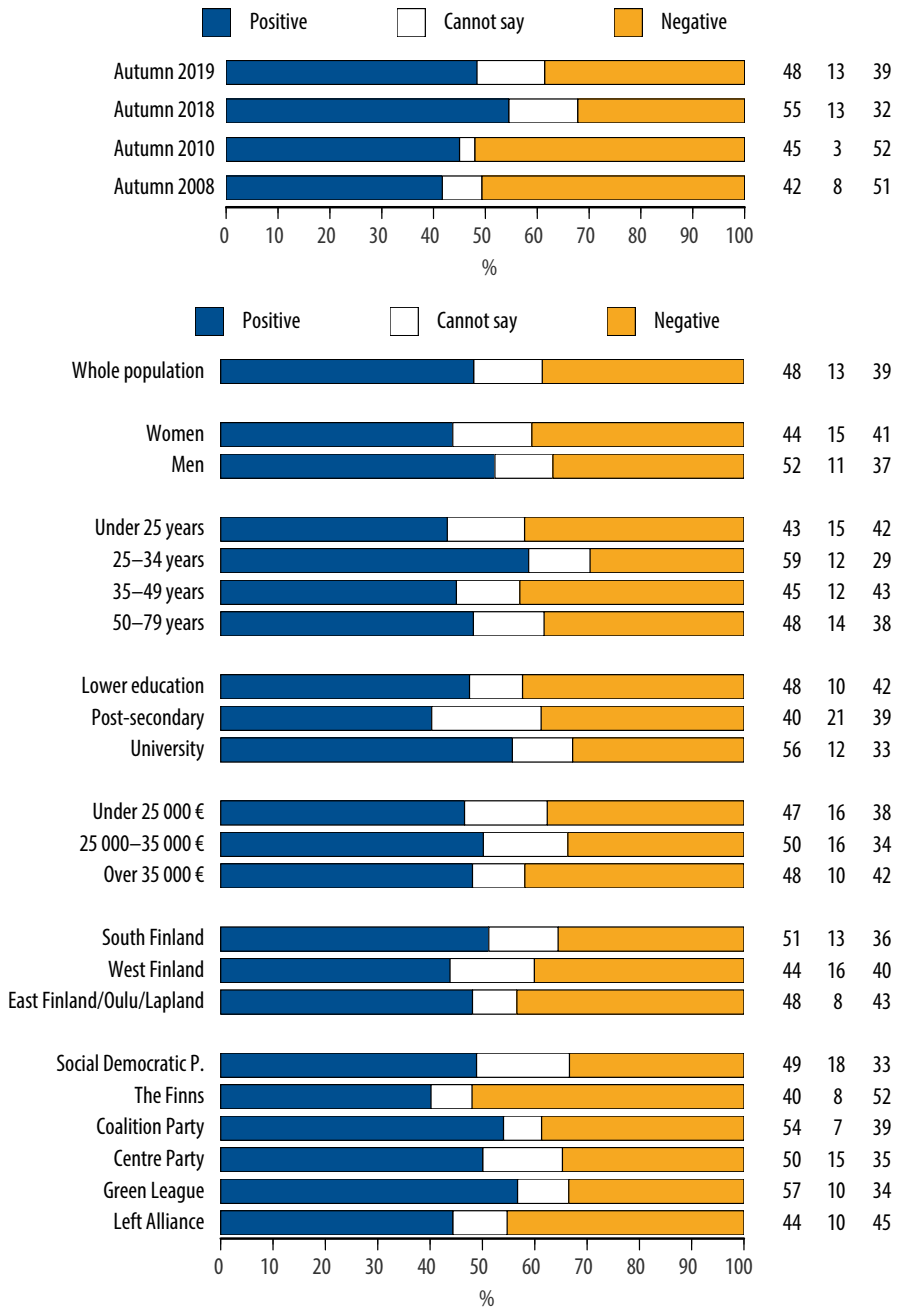
**Figure 7. Finland's defence system**

"In your view, should Finland's defence system be based on..."



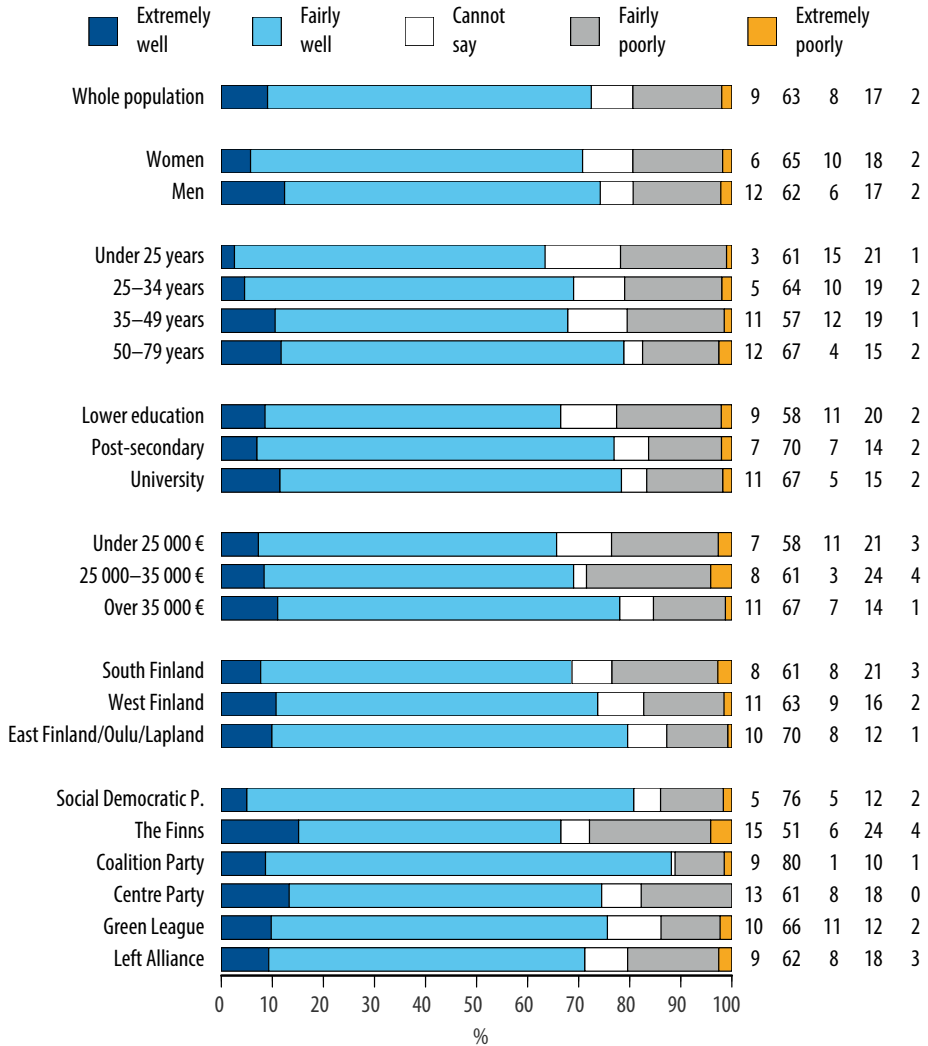
**Figure 8. General civic service**

*"Finland is instituting a general civic service for both men and women. The civic service could be completed as military or non-military service"*



**Figure 9. The conduct of Finnish foreign policy**

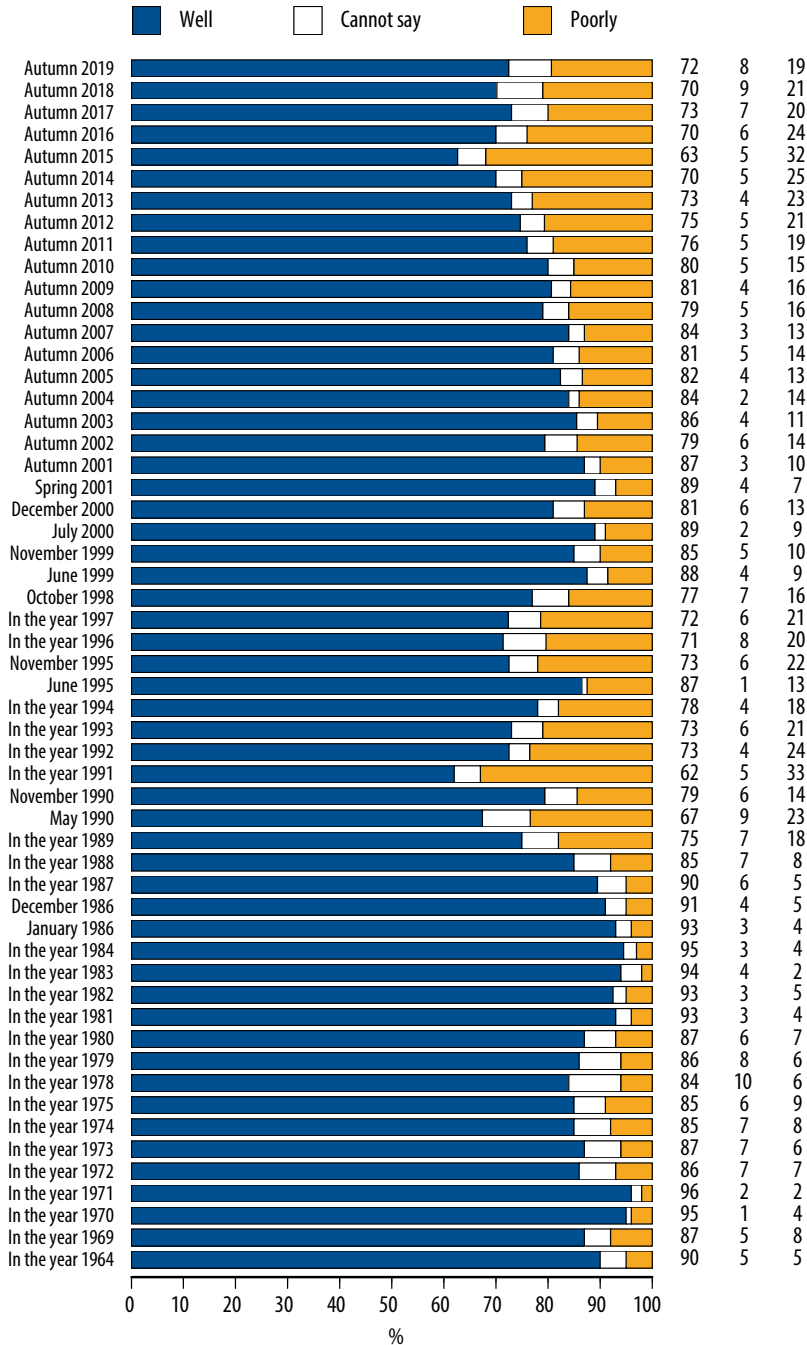
*"In your opinion, how well or how poorly has Finnish foreign policy been conducted in recent years?"*



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**Figure 10. The conduct of Finnish foreign policy**

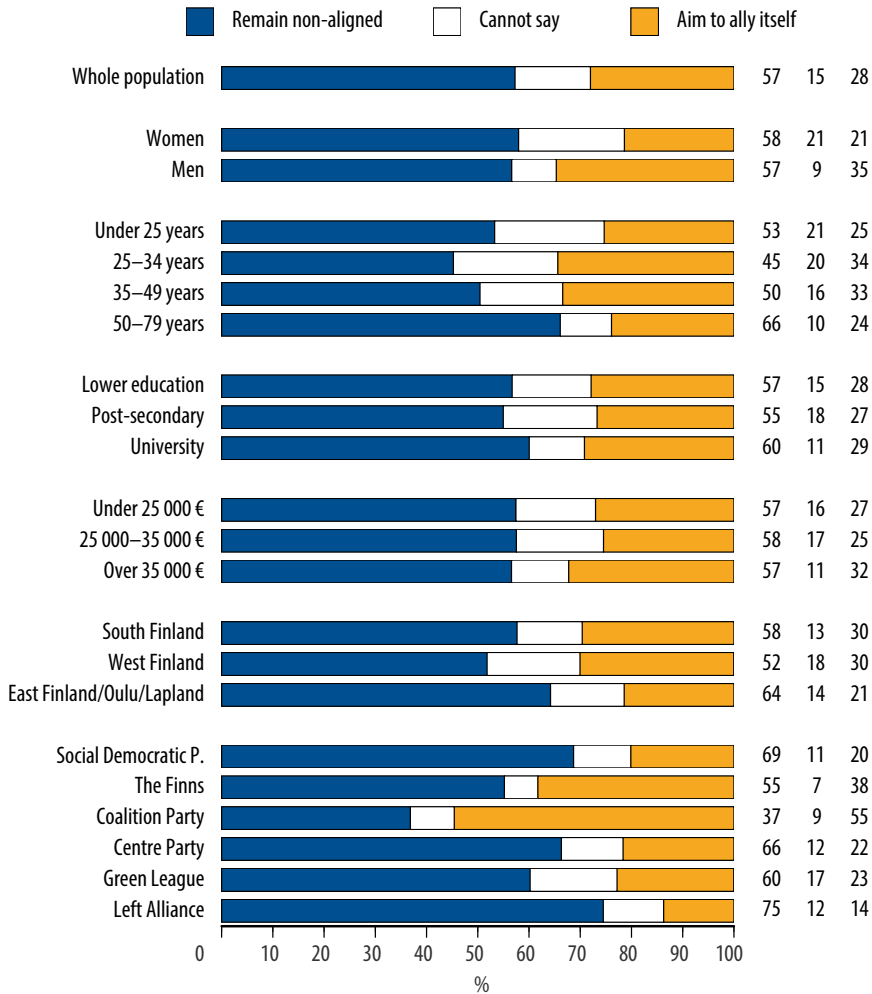
*"In your opinion, how well or how poorly has Finnish foreign policy been conducted in recent years?"*





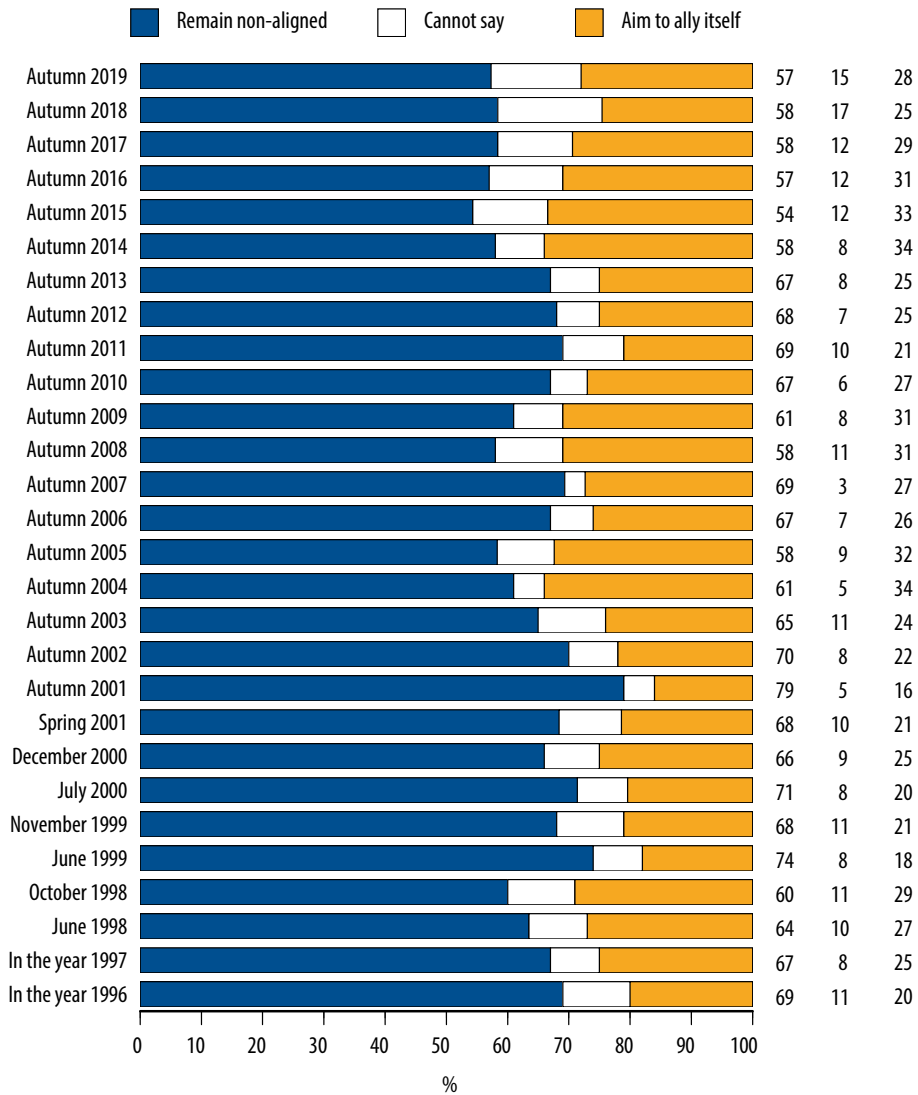
**Figure 11. Military alignment or non-alignment**

*"In your opinion, should Finland remain militarily non-aligned or should Finland aim to ally itself militarily?"*



**Figure 12. Military alignment or non-alignment**

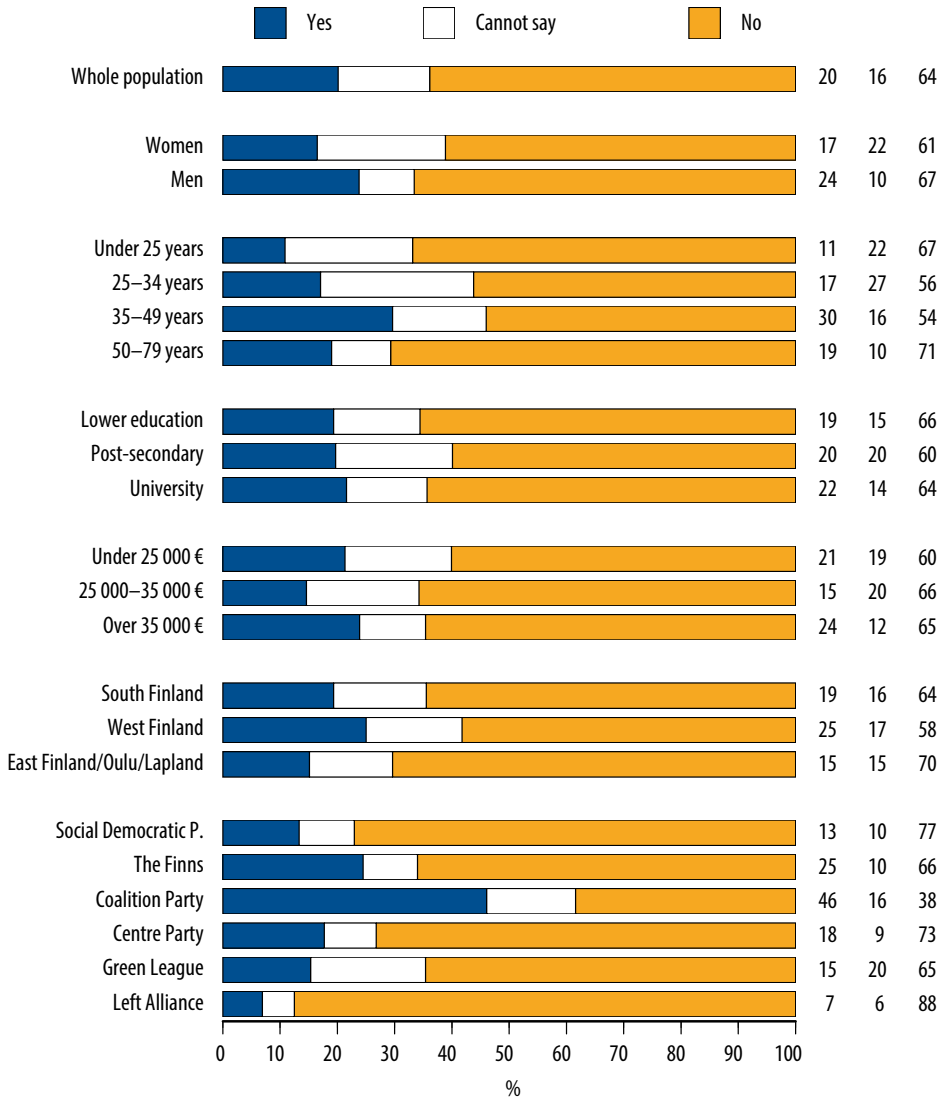
*"In your opinion, should Finland remain militarily non-aligned or should Finland aim to ally itself militarily?"*



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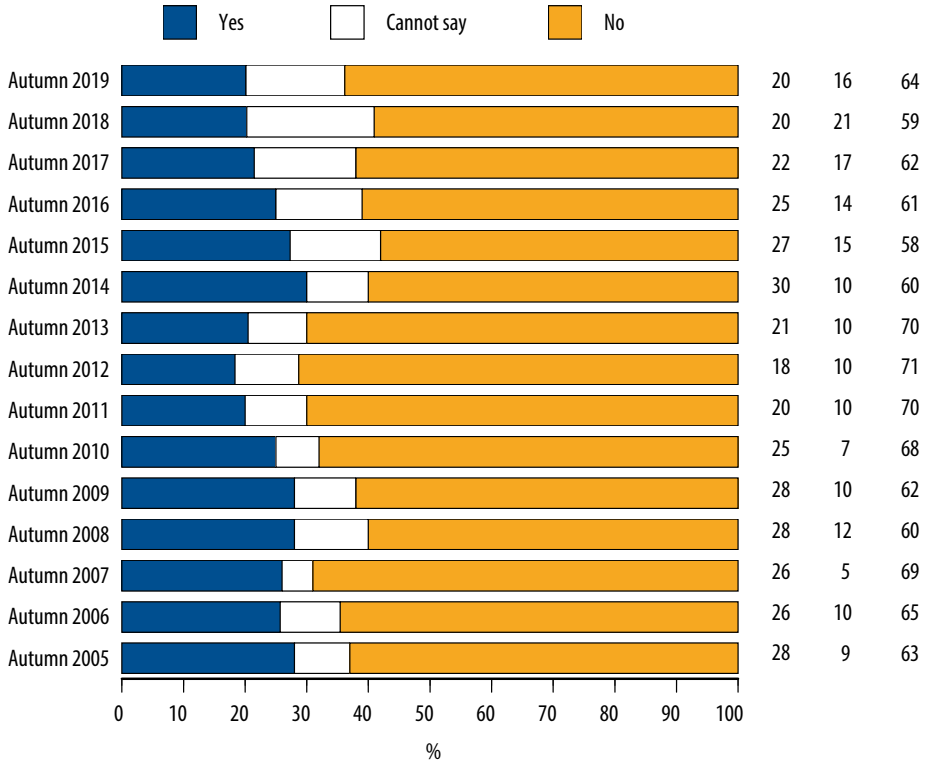
**Figure 13. Nato membership**

*"In your opinion, should Finland seek membership in Nato?"*



**Figure 14. Nato membership**

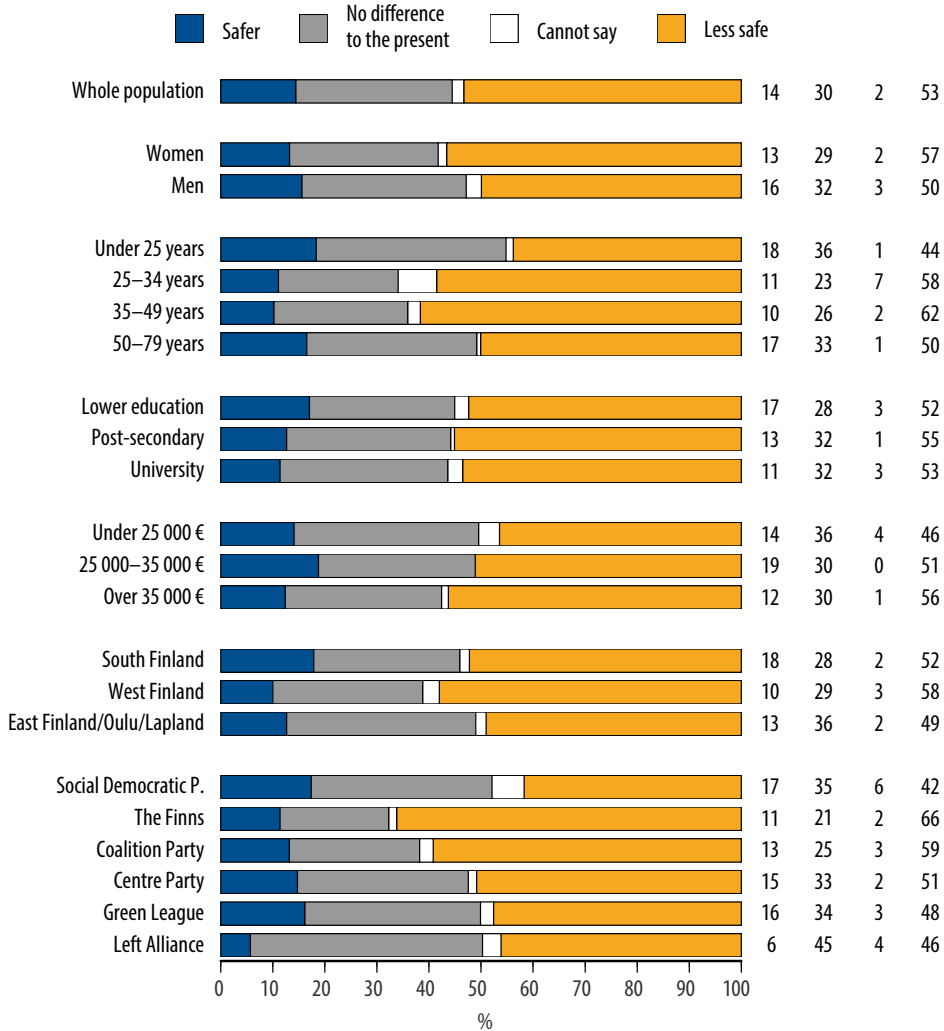
*"In your opinion, should Finland seek membership in Nato?"*



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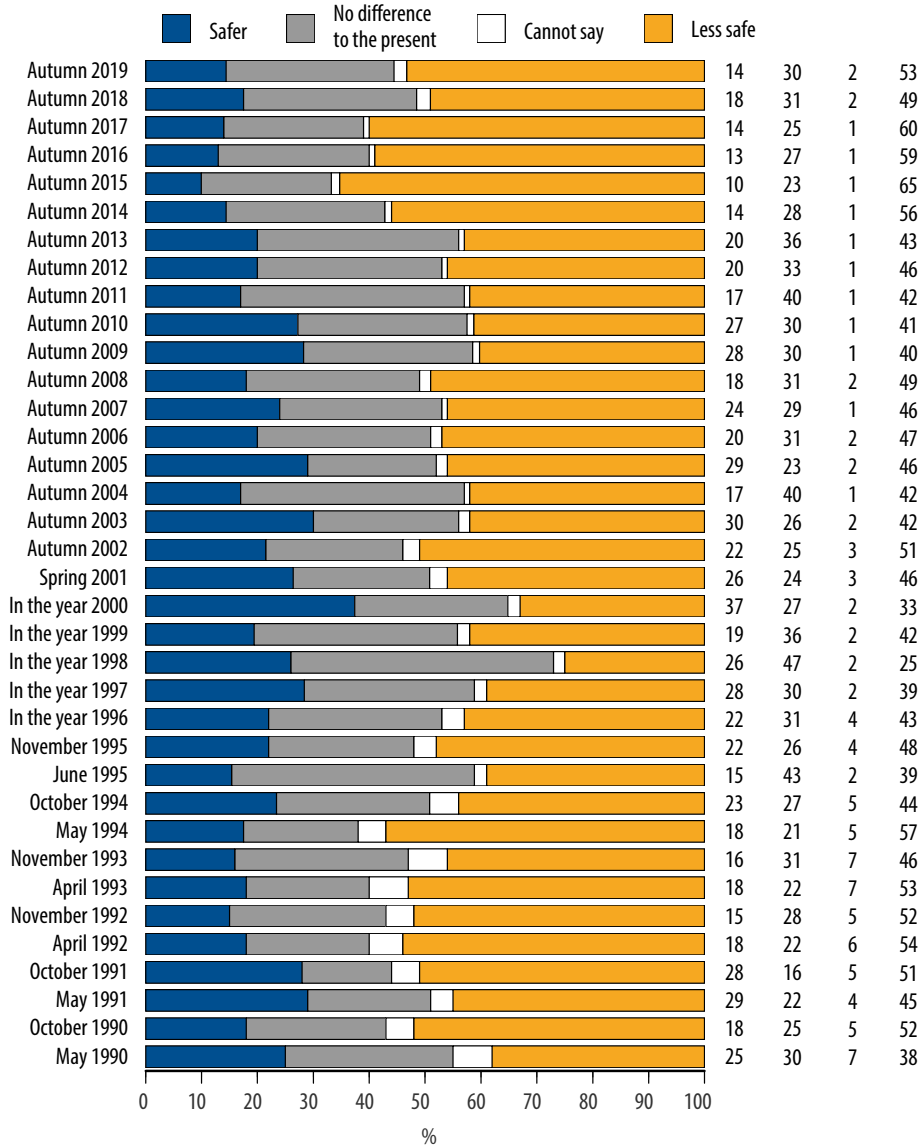
**Figure 15. A more secure or more insecure future**

*"Considering the present world situation as a whole, do you believe that during the next five years Finland and Finns will live in a safer or in a less safe world compared to the present?"*



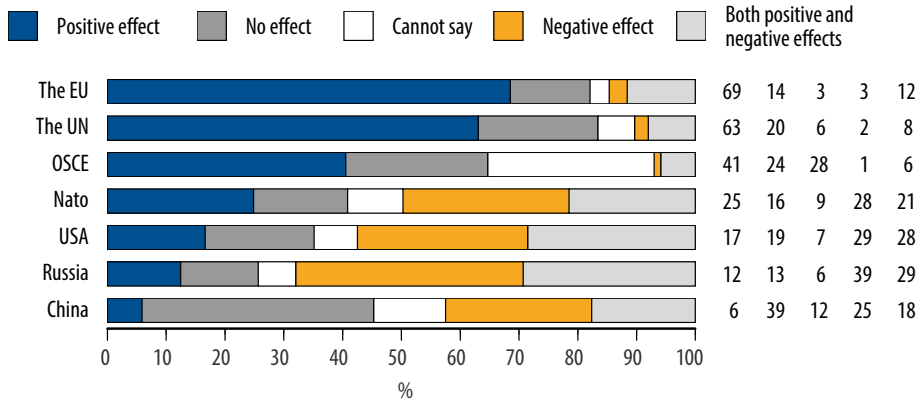
**Figure 16. A more secure or more insecure future**

*"Considering the present world situation as a whole, do you believe that during the next five years Finland and Finns will live in a safer or in a less safe world compared to the present?"*



**Figure 17. The impact of various factors on Finland's security**

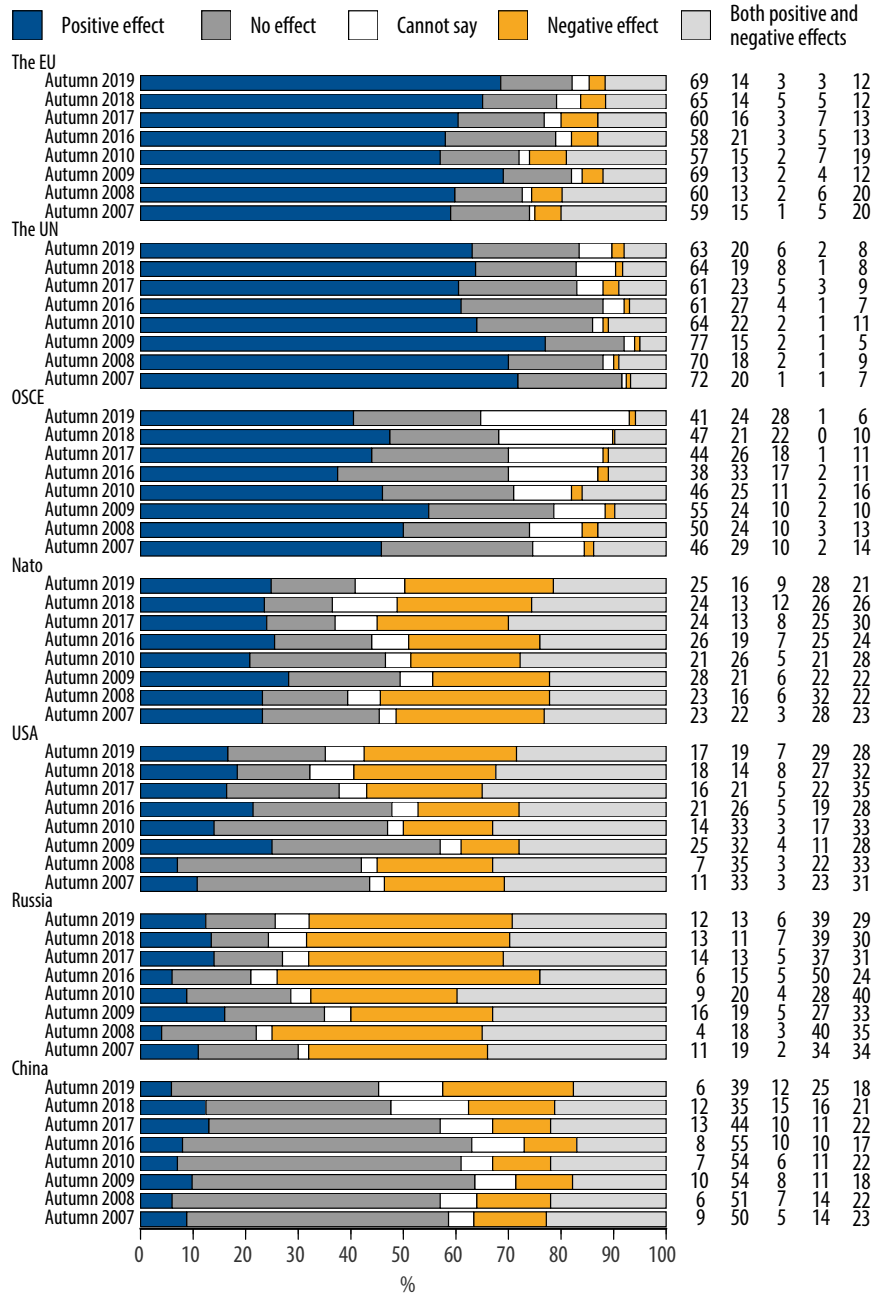
"How do you assess the impact of the following factors on Finland's security?"



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**Figure 18. The impact of various factors on Finland's security**

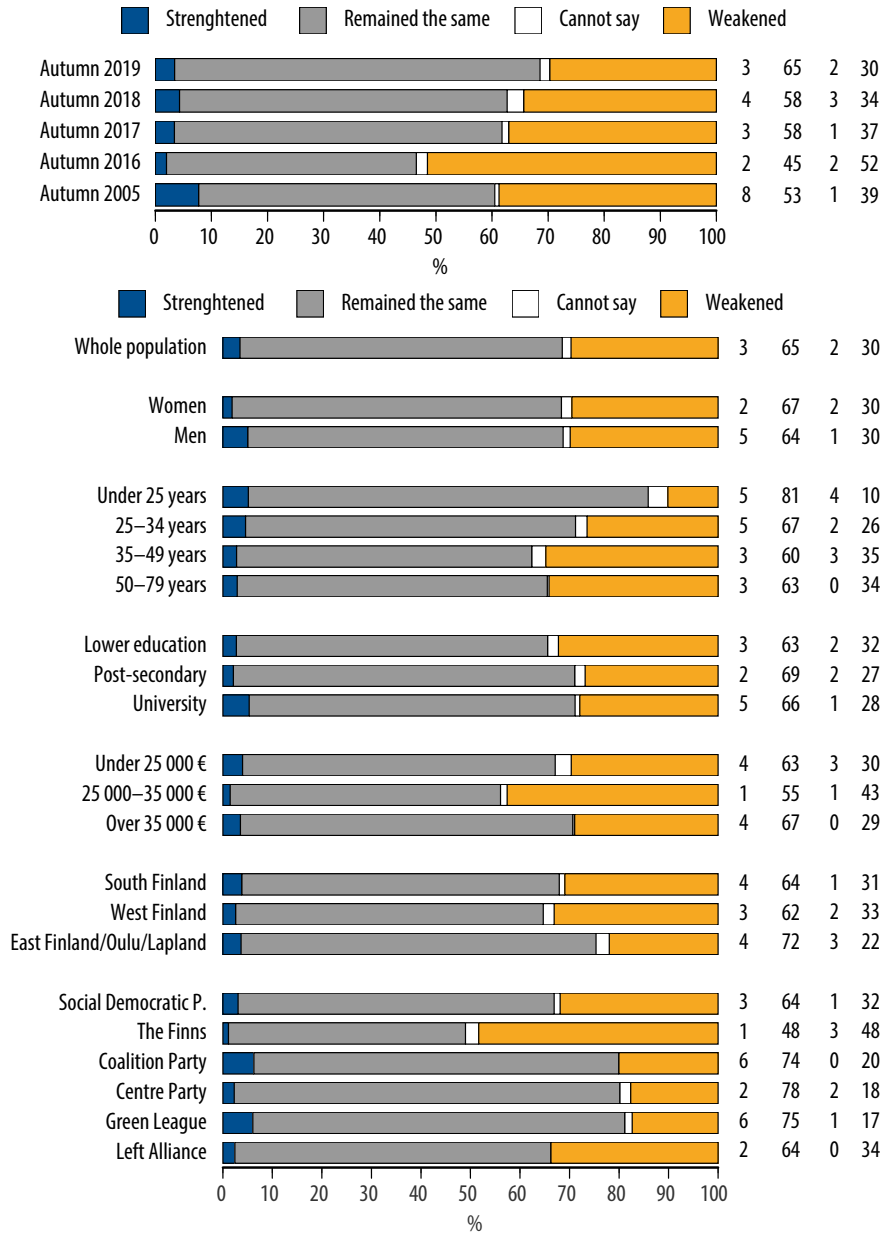
"How do you assess the impact of the following factors on Finland's security?"





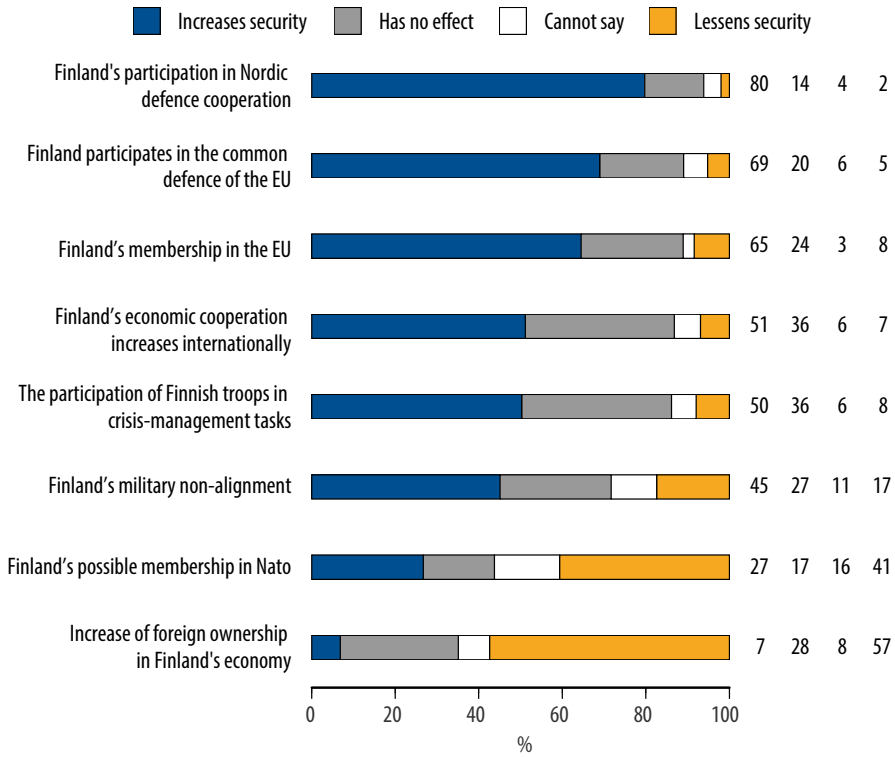
**Figure 19. Confidence in the future of the European Union**

*"What kind of confidence do you have in the future of the European Union? In the last two years, has your confidence been strengthened, weakened or has it remained the same?"*



**Figure 20. Factors affecting security**

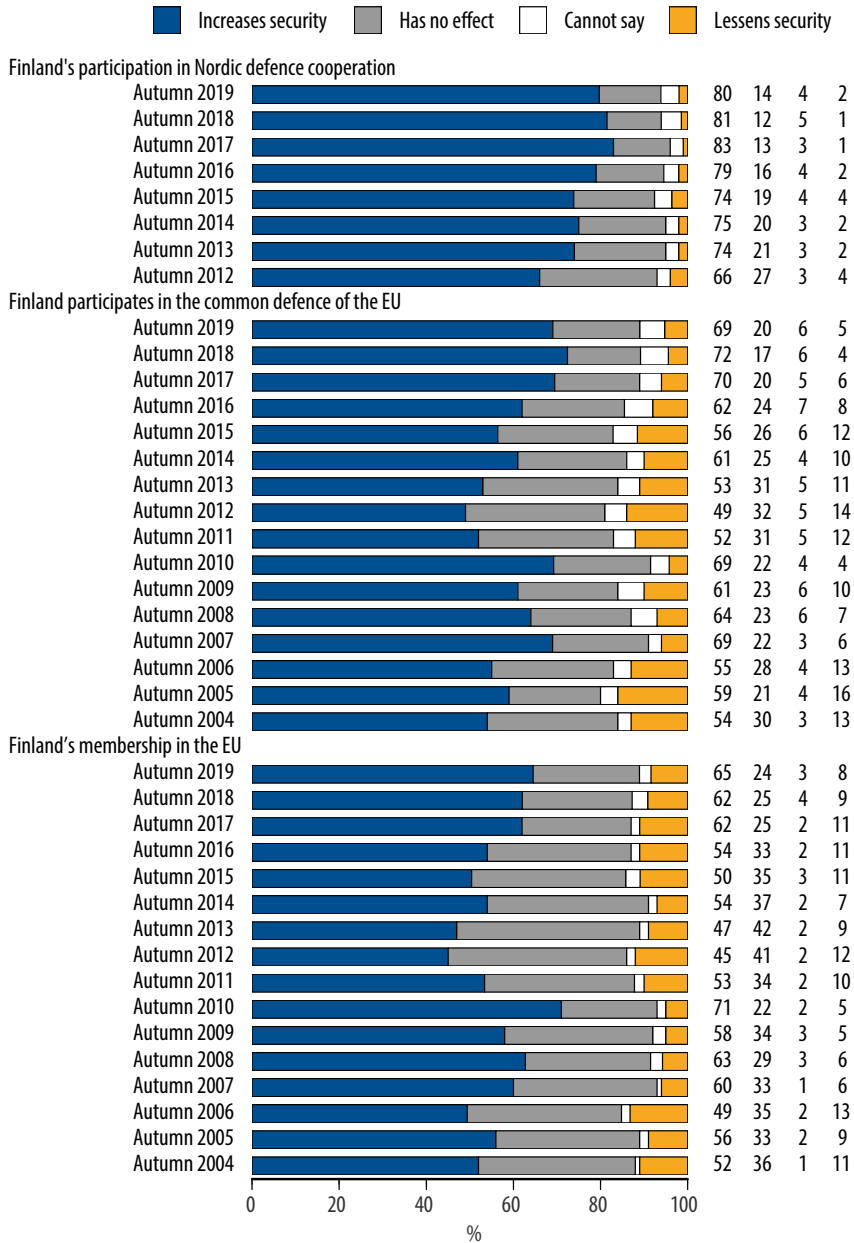
*"How do you assess the following phenomena and factors? How do they affect the security of Finland and Finns?"*



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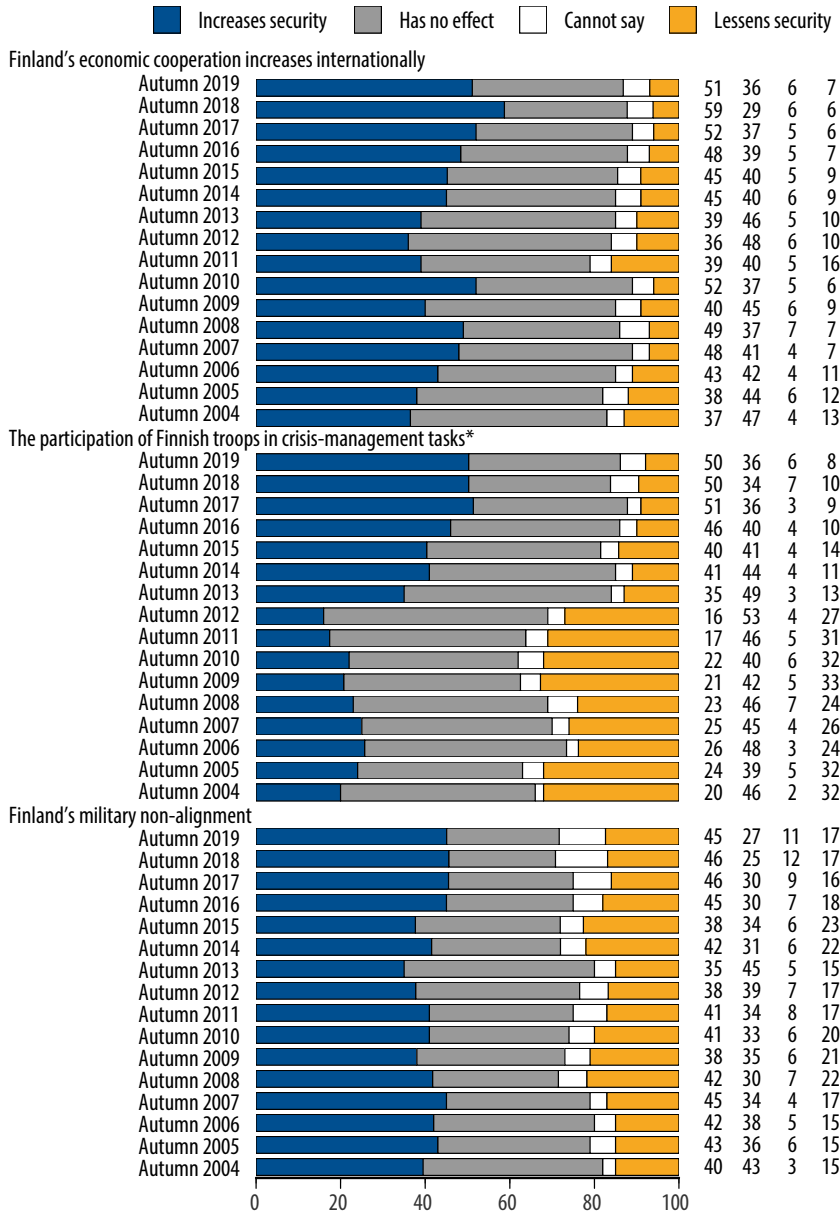
**Figure 21. Factors affecting security (I)**

*"How do you assess the following phenomena and factors? How do they affect the security of Finland and Finns?"*



**Figure 22. Factors affecting security (II)**

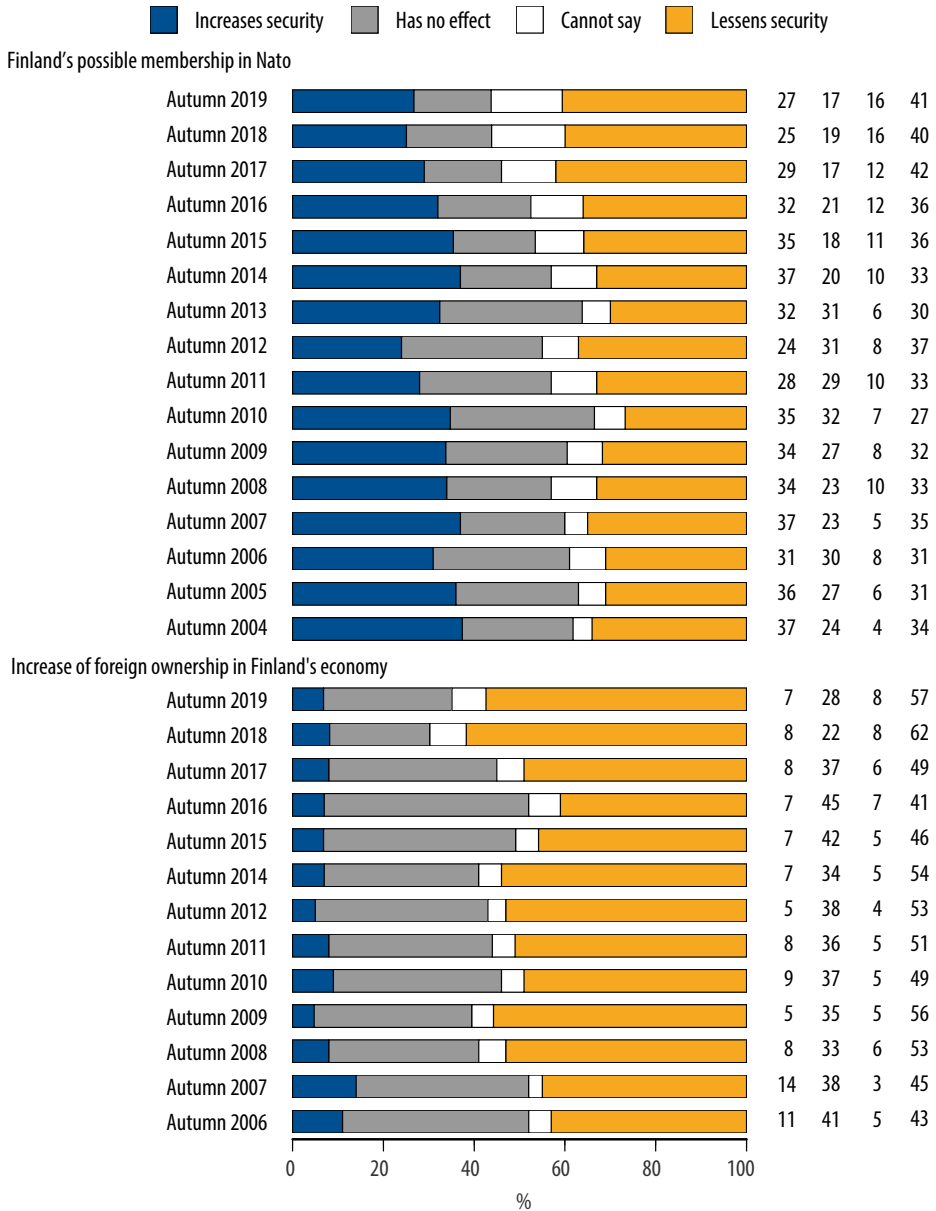
*"How do you assess the following phenomena and factors? How do they affect the security of Finland and Finns?"*



\*) 2004–2012 The participation of Finnish troops in crisis-management tasks in war zones

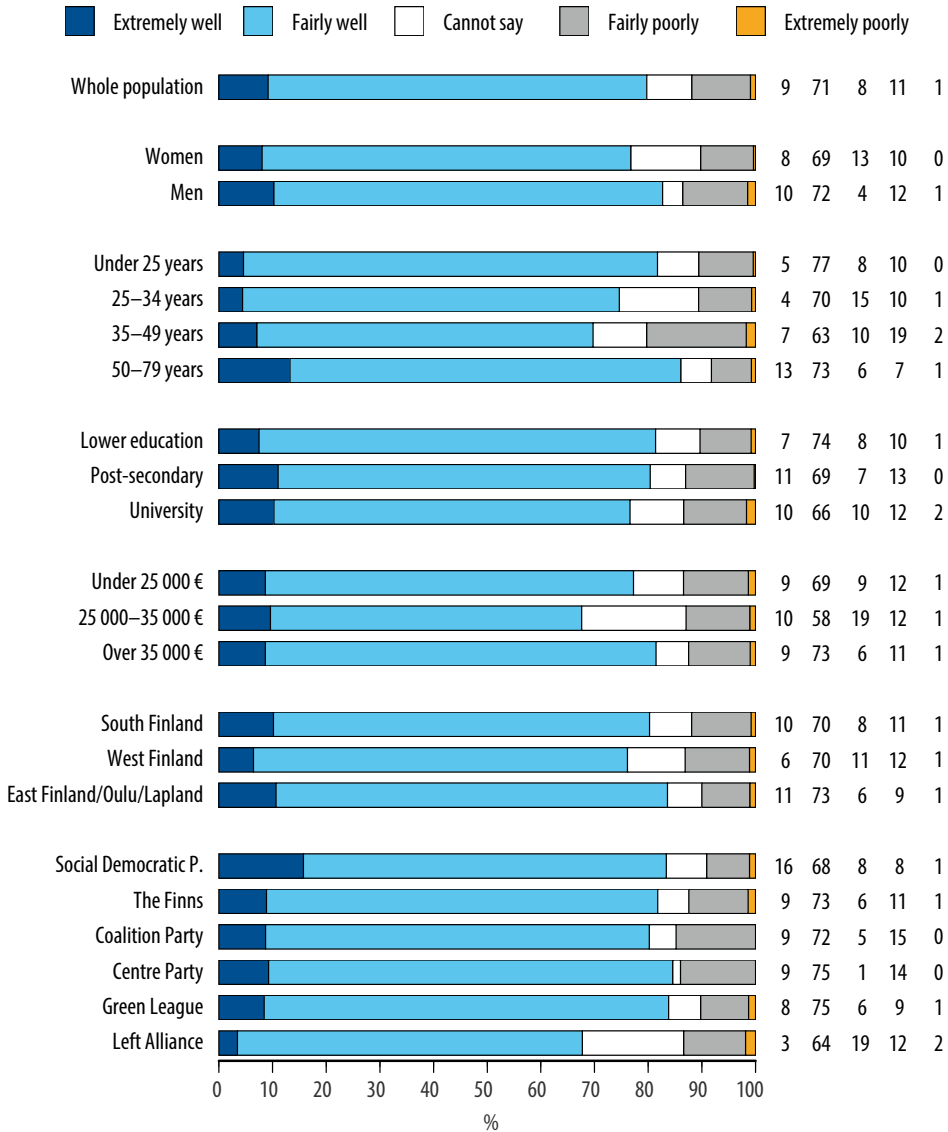
**Figure 23. Factors affecting security (III)**

*"How do you assess the following phenomena and factors? How do they affect the security of Finland and Finns?"*



**Figure 24. The conduct of defence policy in Finland**

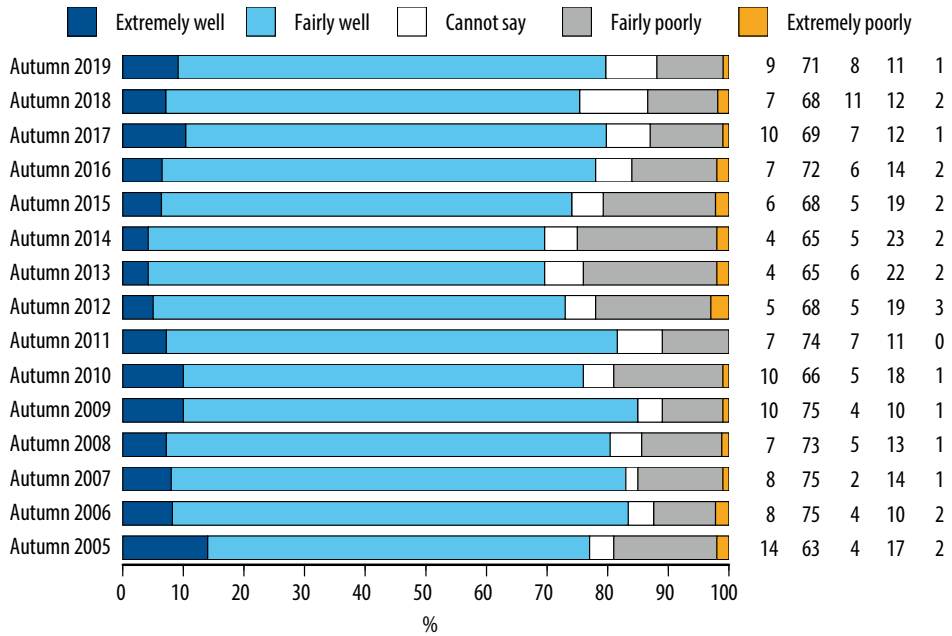
*"In your opinion, how well or how poorly has Finland's defence policy been conducted in recent years?"*



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**Figure 25. The conduct of defence policy in Finland**

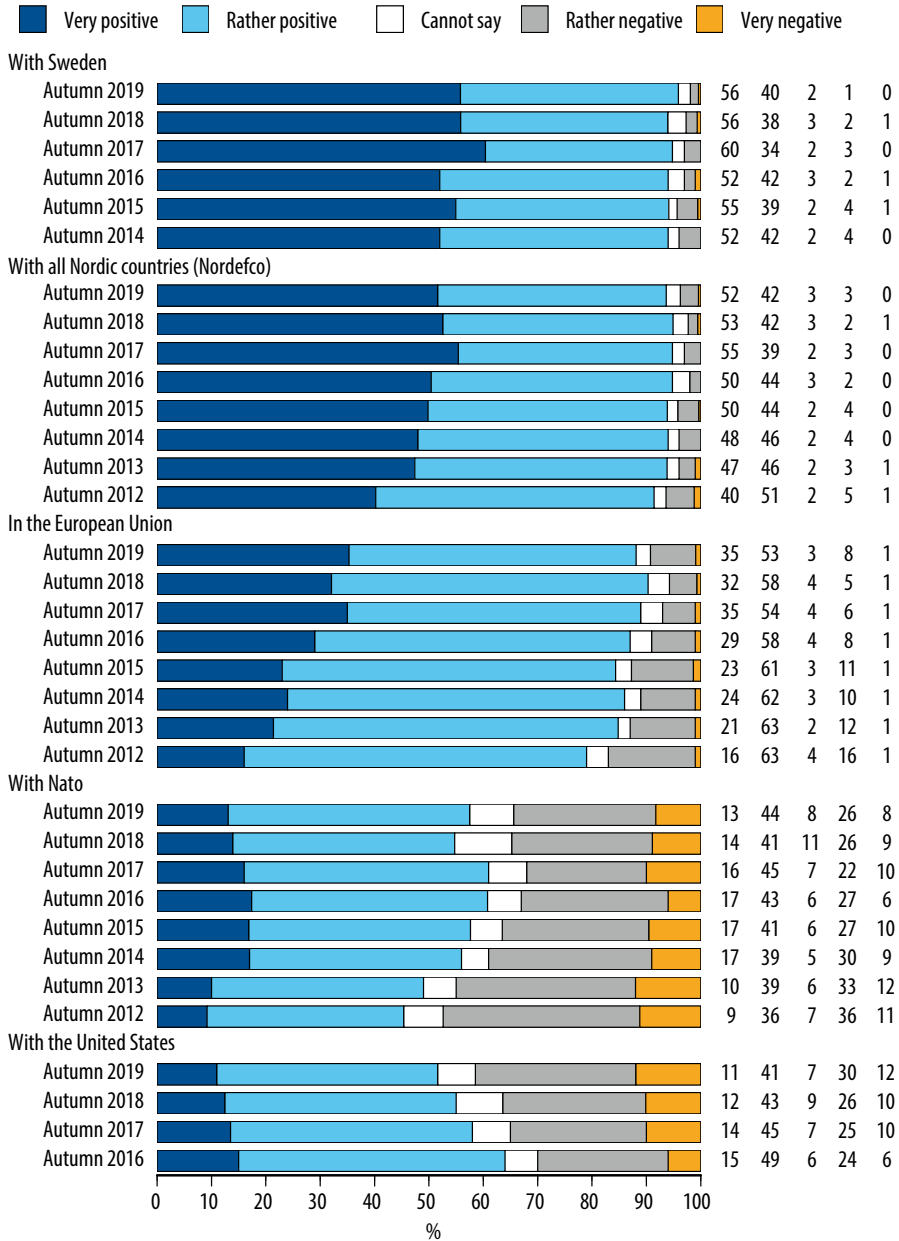
*"In your opinion, how well or how poorly has Finland's defence policy been conducted in recent years?"*



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**Figure 26. Military cooperation**

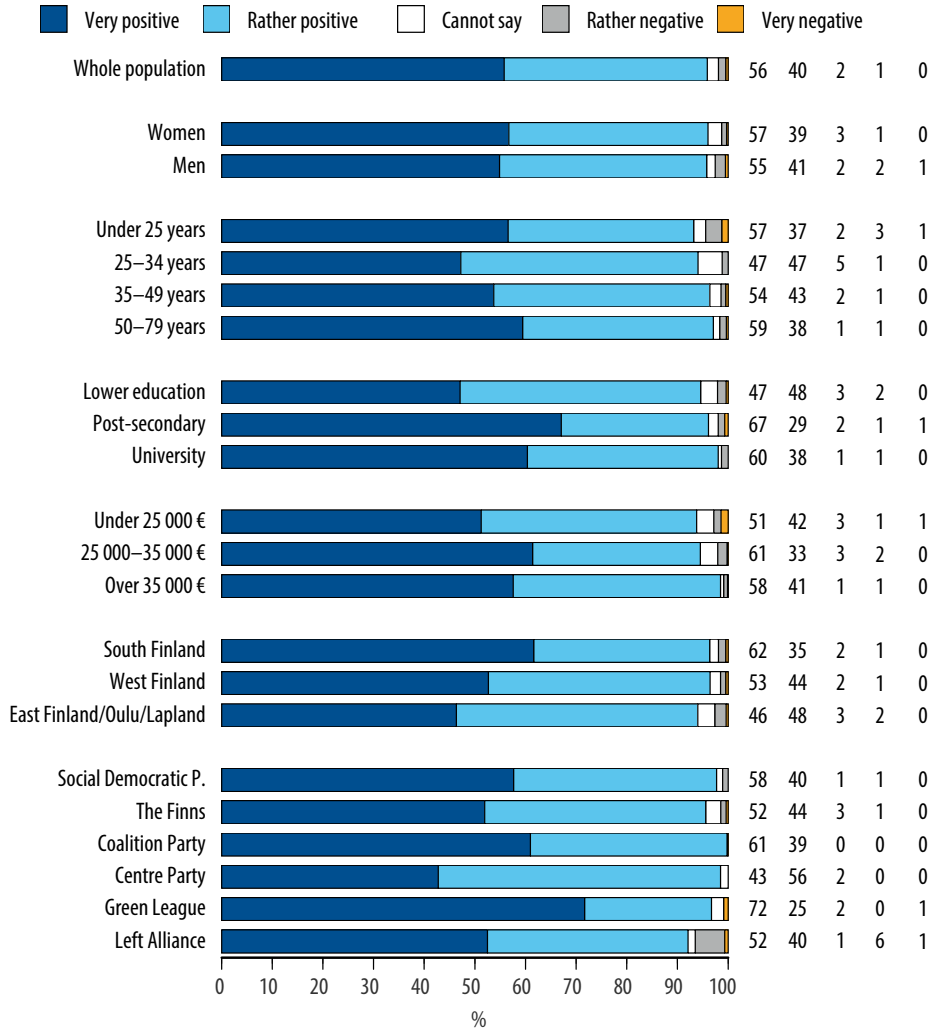
*"Finland conducts military cooperation with Sweden, other Nordic countries, Nato and the European Union. What is your view on cooperation?"*





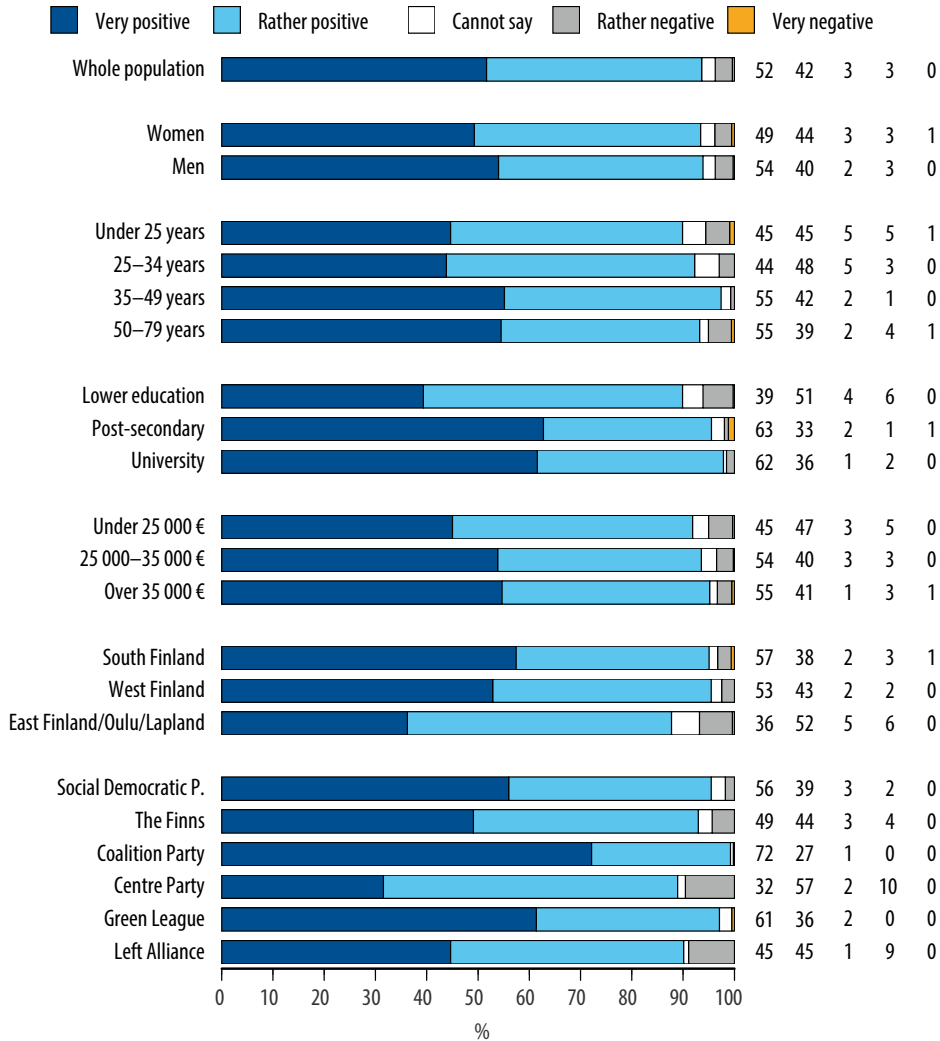
**Figure 27. Military cooperation with Sweden**

"Finland conducts military cooperation with Sweden. What is your view on cooperation?"



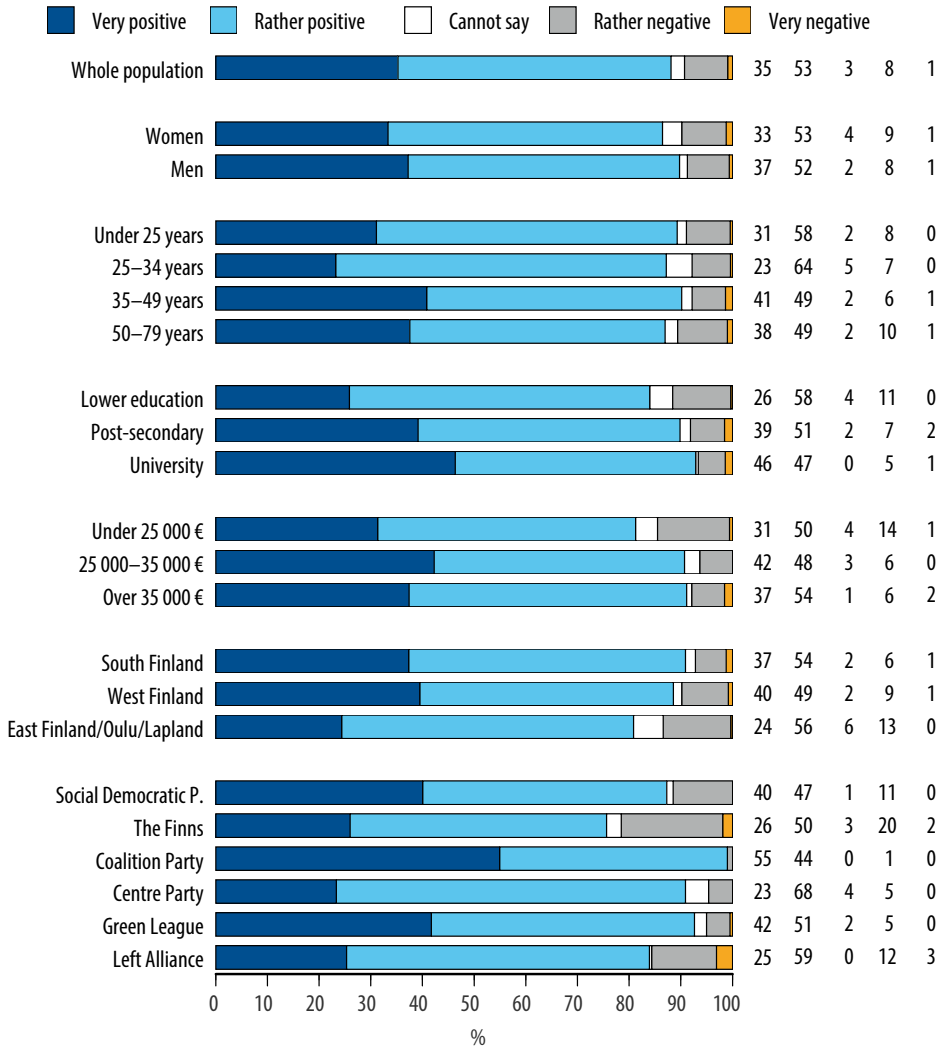
**Figure 28. Military cooperation with all Nordic countries (Nordefco)**

*"Finland conducts military cooperation with all Nordic countries. What is your view on cooperation?"*



**Figure 29. Military cooperation in the European Union**

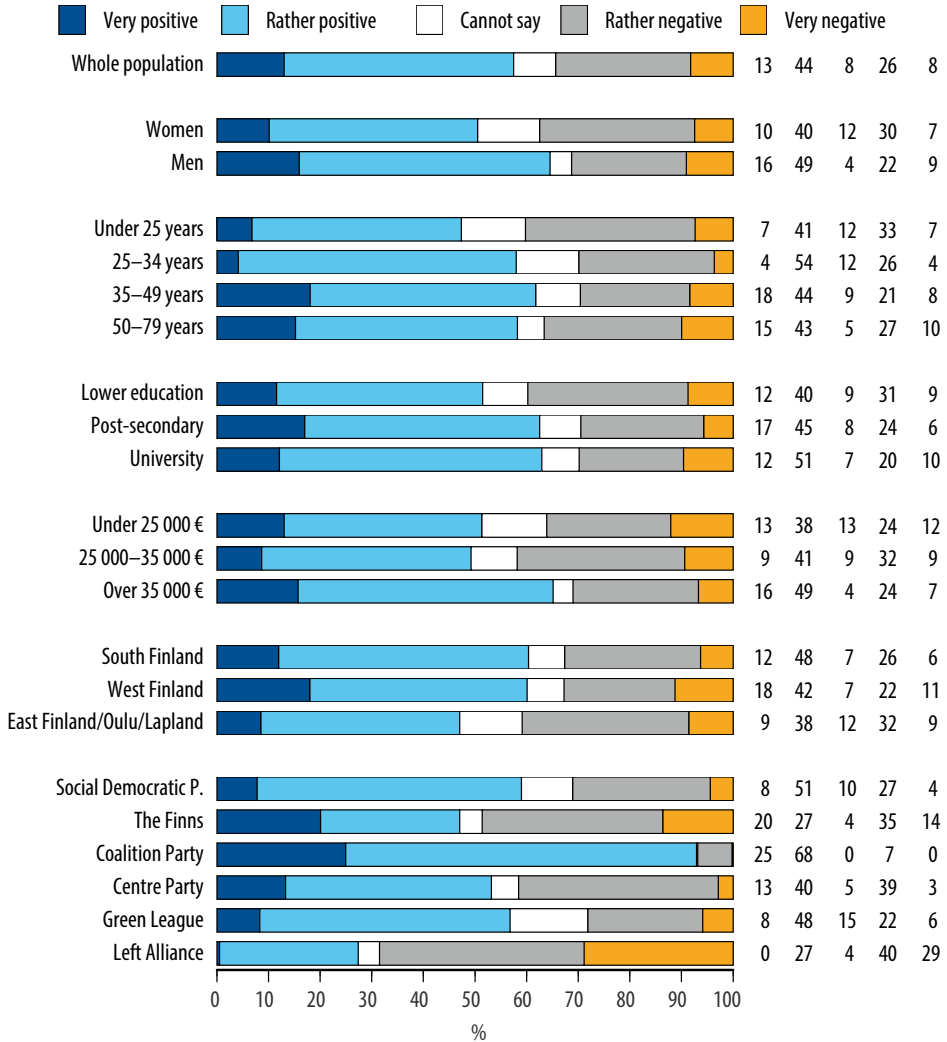
*"Finland conducts military cooperation with the European union. What is your view on cooperation?"*



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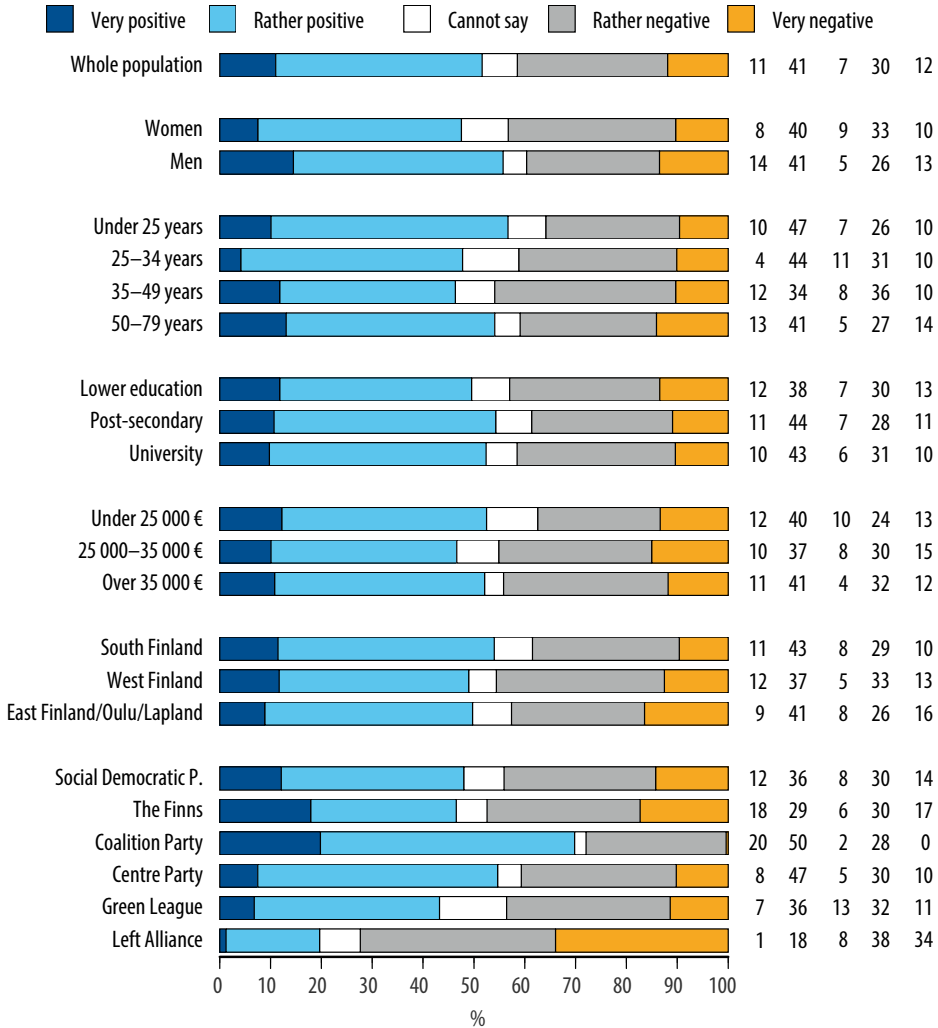
**Figure 30. Military cooperation with Nato**

*"Finland conducts military cooperation with Nato. What is your view on cooperation?"*



**Figure 31. Military cooperation with the United States**

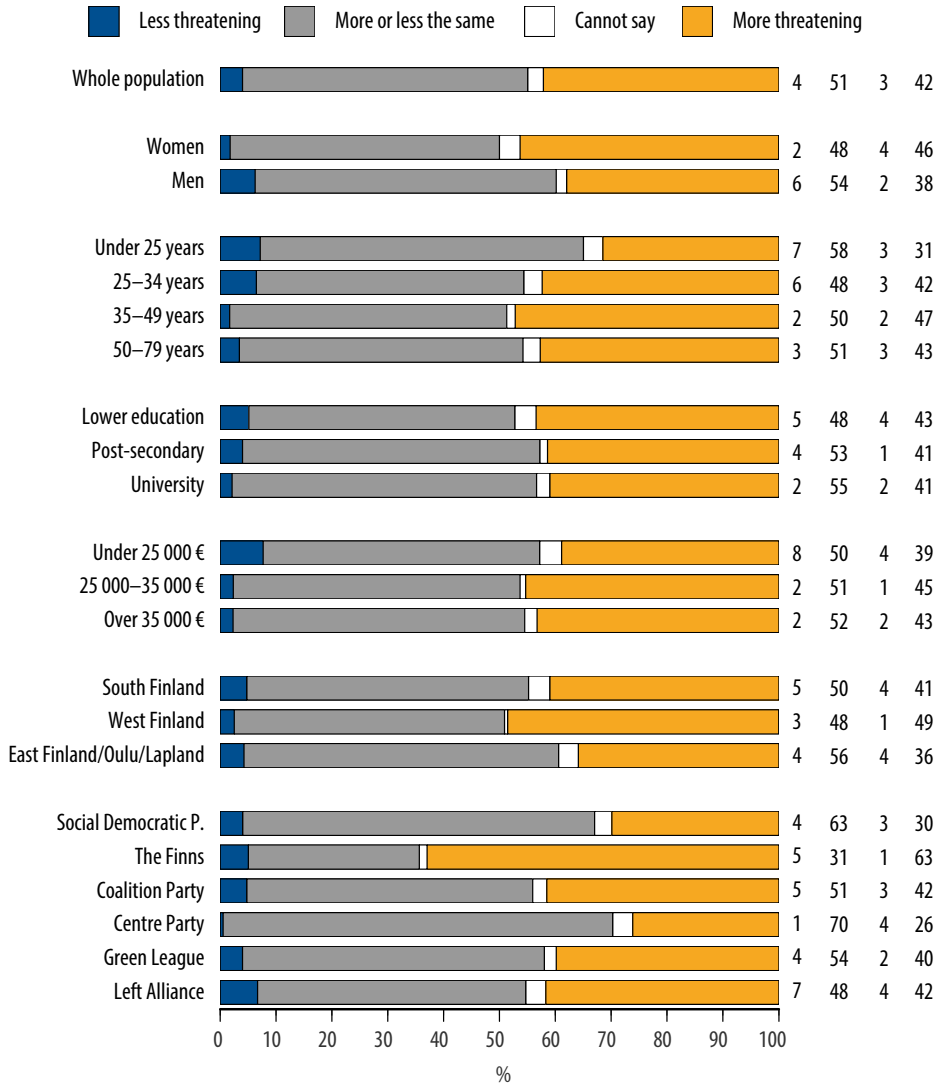
*"Finland conducts military cooperation with the United States. What is your view on cooperation?"*



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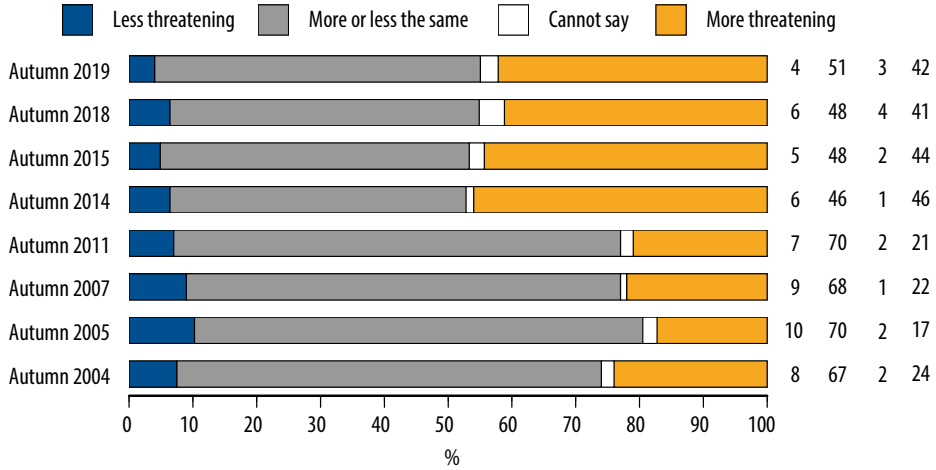
**Figure 32. The military situation in Finland's near environs**

*"What is your estimate of the military situation in Finland's near environs during the next decade?"*



**Figure 33. The military situation in Finland's near environs**

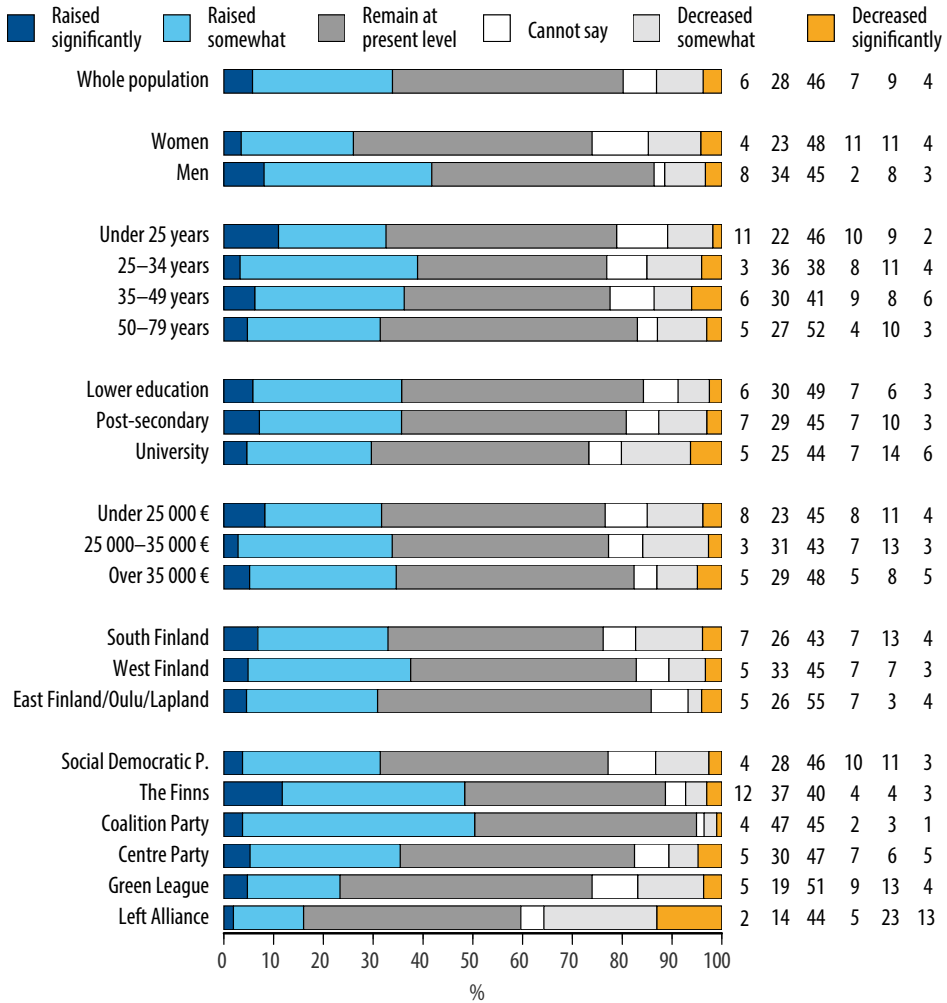
*"What is your estimate of the military situation in Finland's near environs during the next decade?"*



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**Figure 34. Defence appropriations**

*"What is your opinion on funds allocated to the Defence Forces?"*

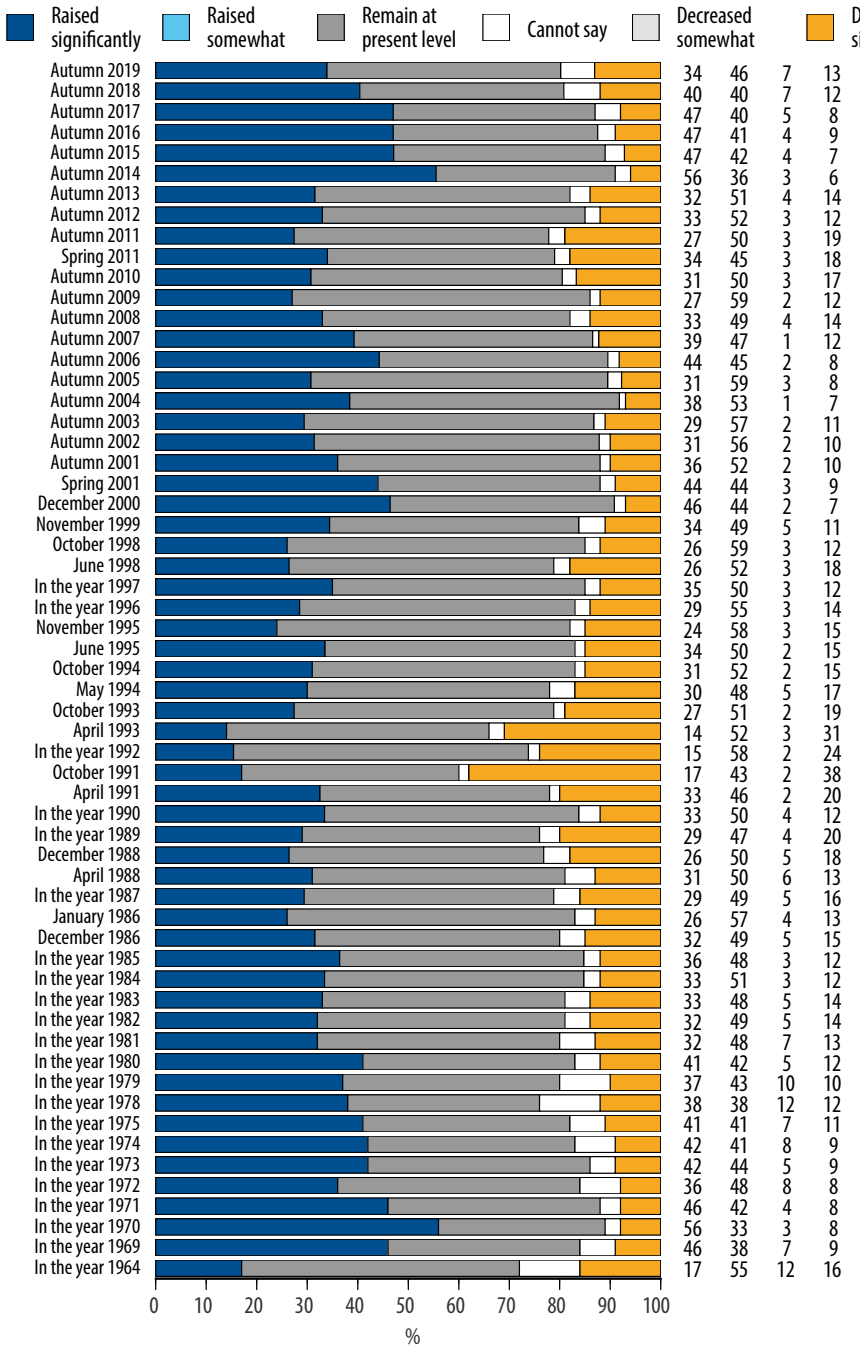


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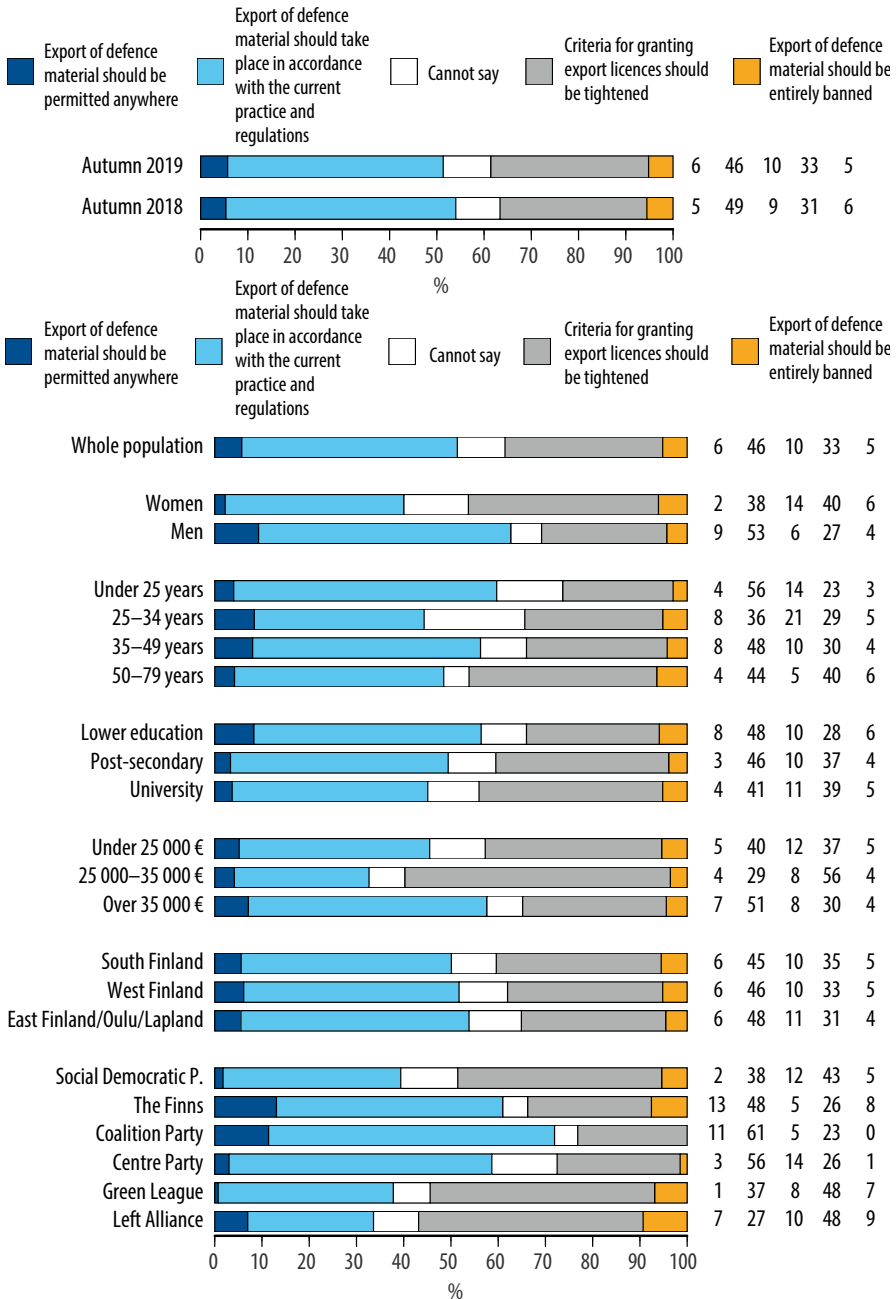
**Figure 35. Defence appropriations**

"What is your opinion on funds allocated to the Defence Forces?"



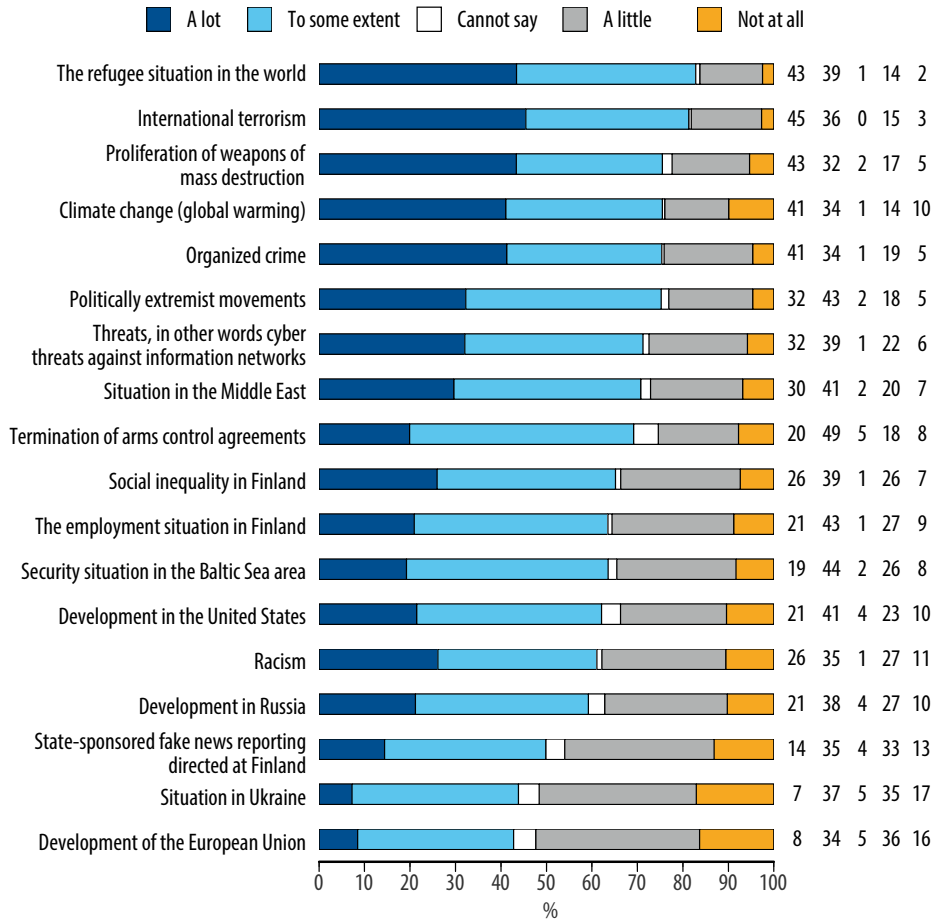
**Figure 36. Export of defence material**

"Which of the following alternatives reflects best your view on the exports of defence material by Finnish companies?"



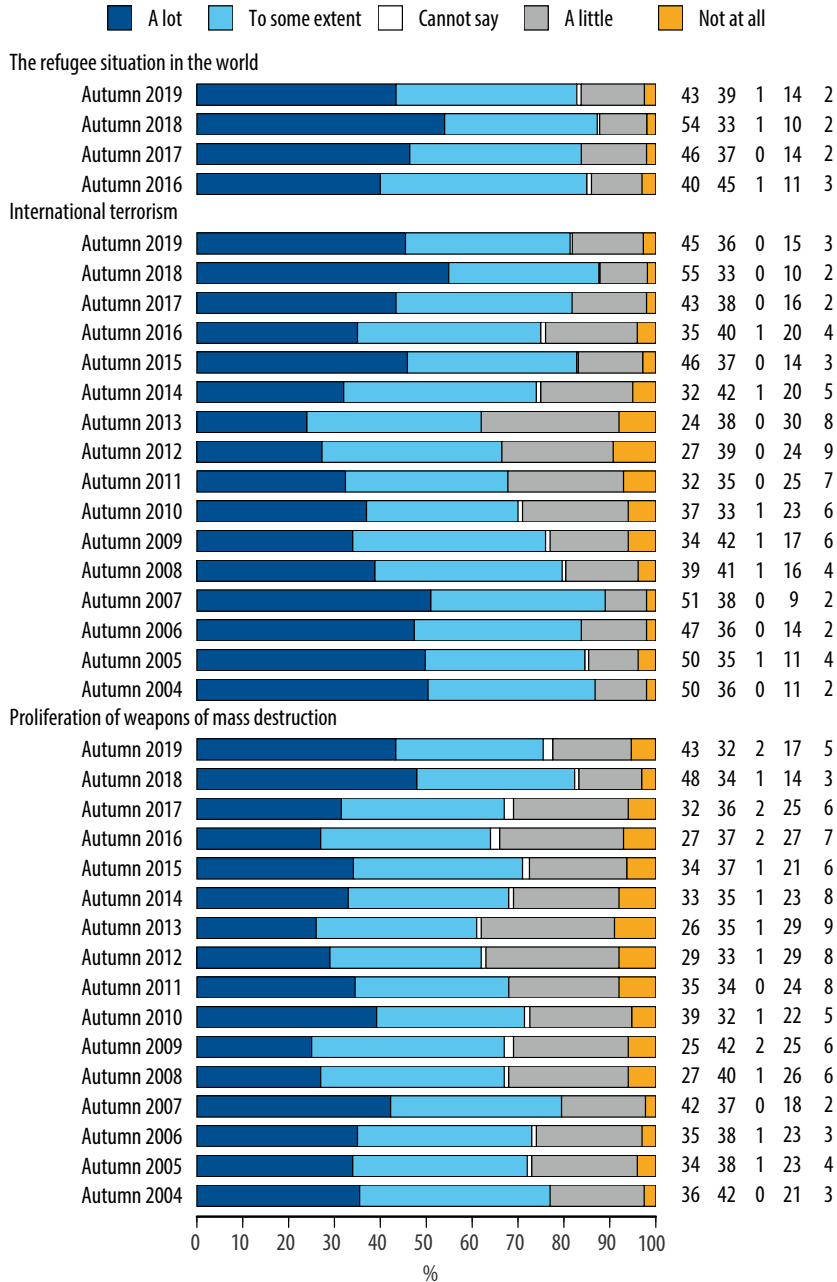
**Figure 37. Factors causing concern among the citizens**

*"How would you assess the following phenomena and actors? To what extent do they make you worry about the future?"*



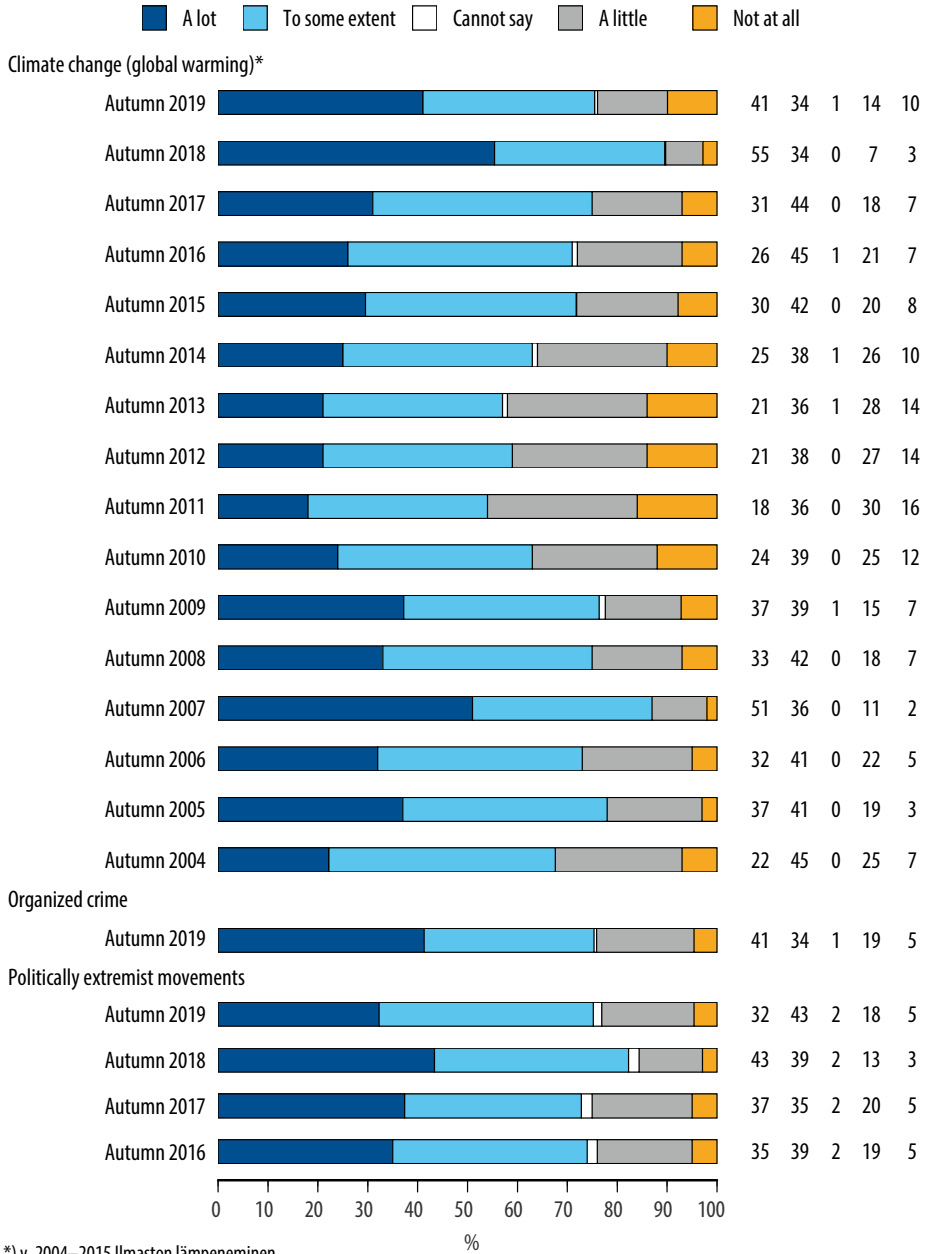
**Figure 38. Factors causing concern among the citizens (I)**

"How would you assess the following phenomena and actors? To what extent do they make you worry about the future?"



**Figure 39. Factors causing concern among the citizens (II)**

"How would you assess the following phenomena and actors? To what extent do they make you worry about the future?"

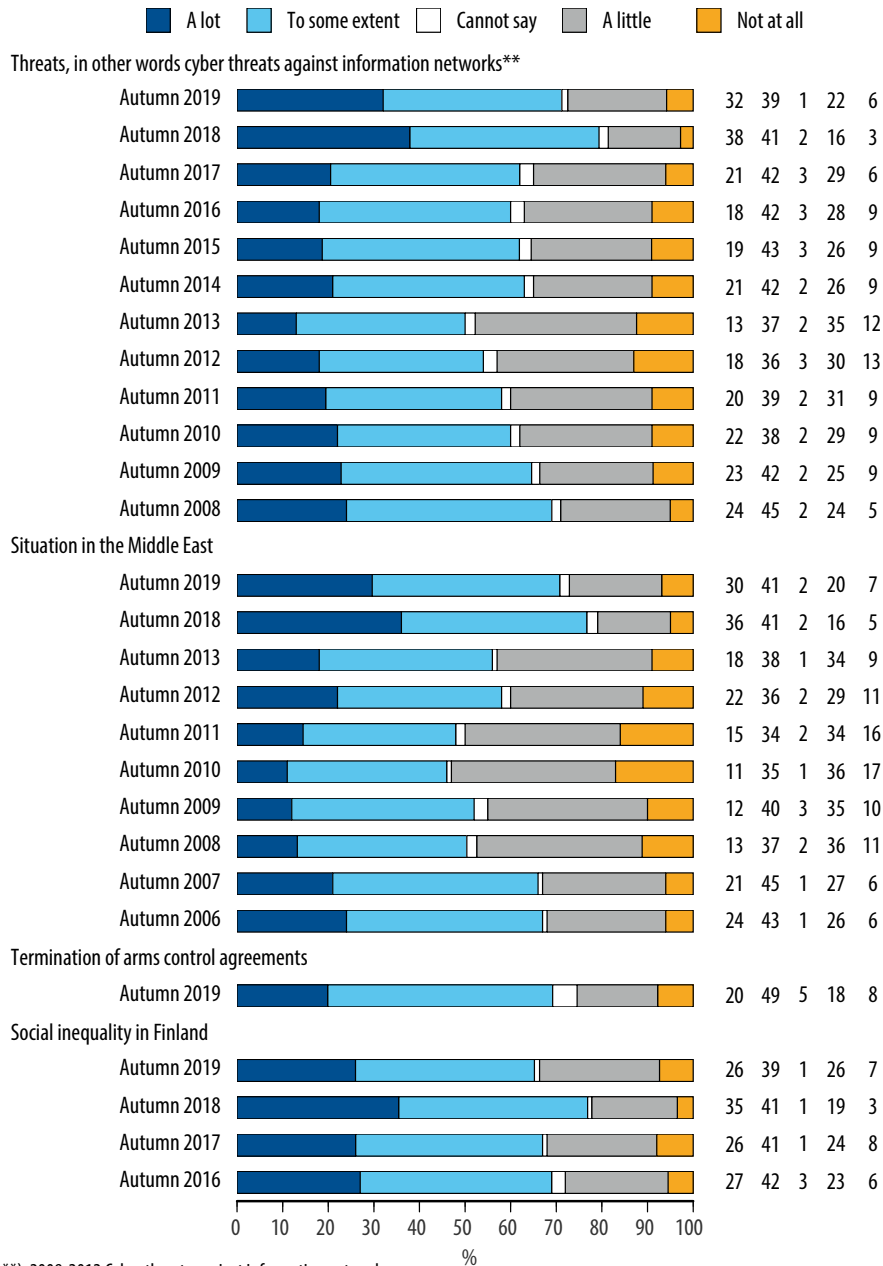


\*) v. 2004–2015 Ilmaston lämpeneminen

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**Figure 40. Factors causing concern among the citizens (III)**

"How would you assess the following phenomena and actors? To what extent do they make you worry about the future?"



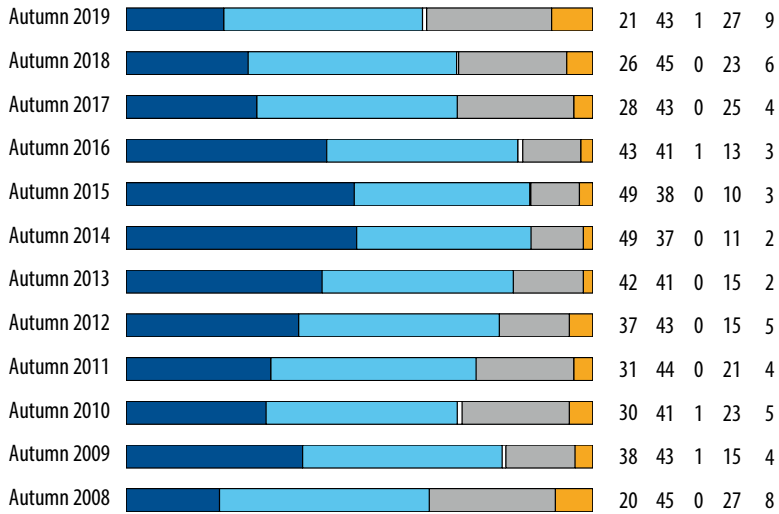
\*\*\*) 2008-2012 Cyber threats against information networks

**Figure 41. Factors causing concern among the citizens (IV)**

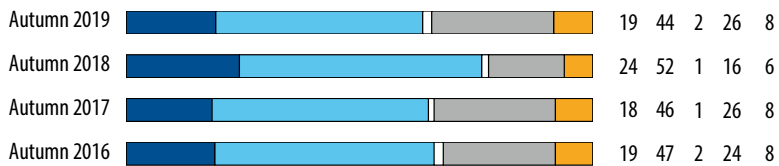
"How would you assess the following phenomena and actors? To what extent do they make you worry about the future?"

■ A lot ■ To some extent □ Cannot say ■ A little ■ Not at all

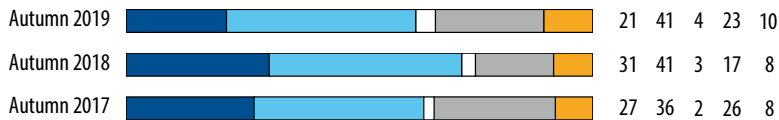
The employment situation in Finland



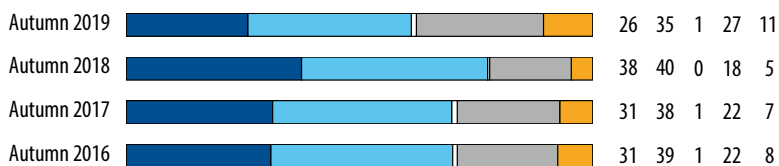
Security situation in the Baltic Sea area



Development in the United States



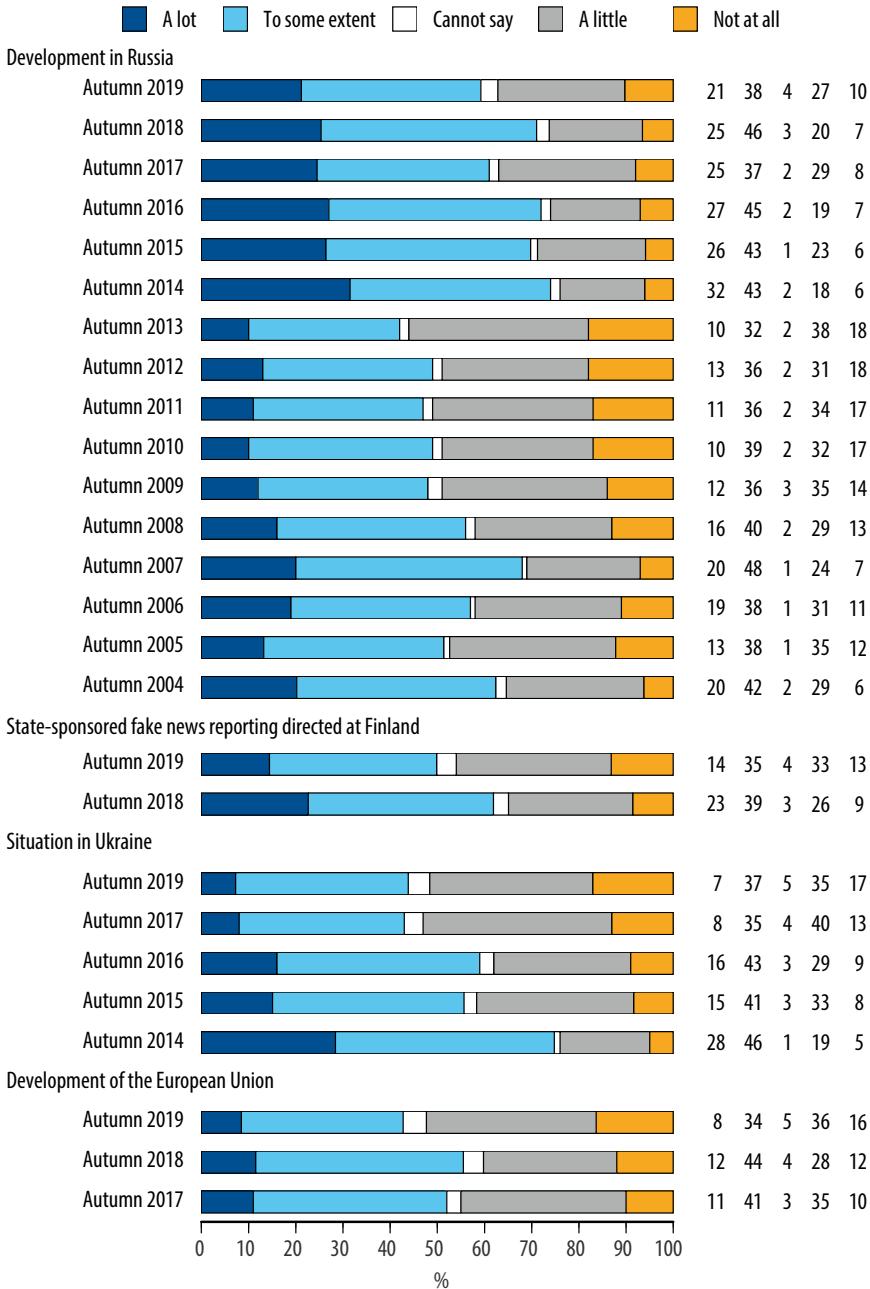
Racism



0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100  
%

**Figure 42. Factors causing concern among the citizens (V)**

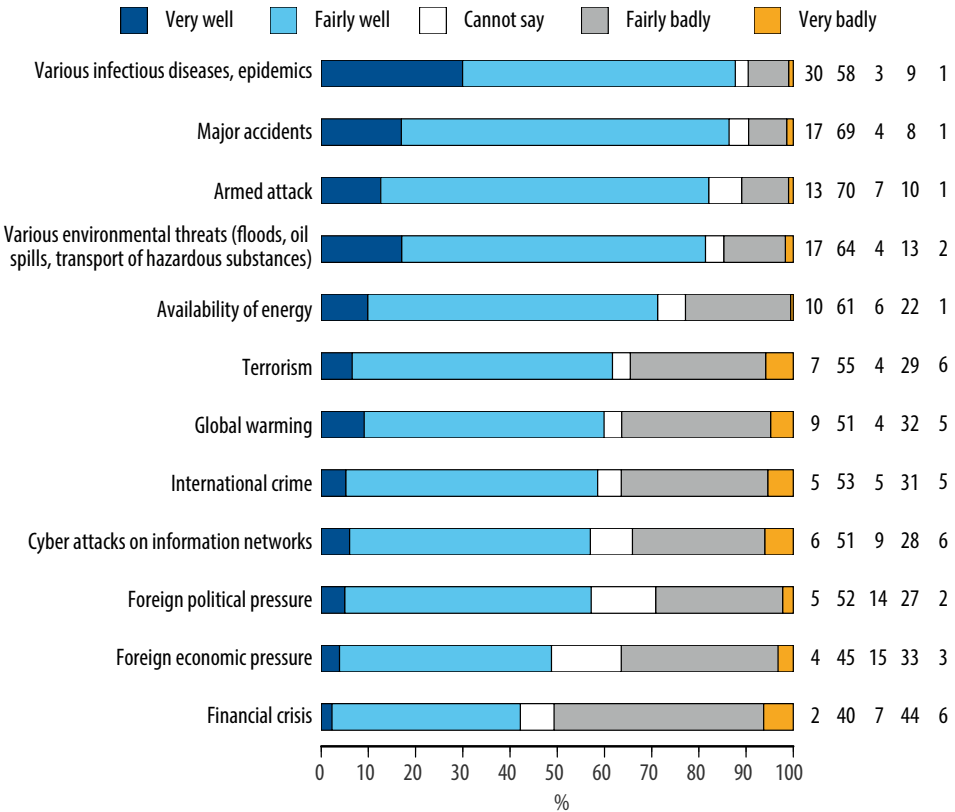
"How would you assess the following phenomena and actors? To what extent do they make you worry about the future?"





**Figure 43. Preparedness for various threats**

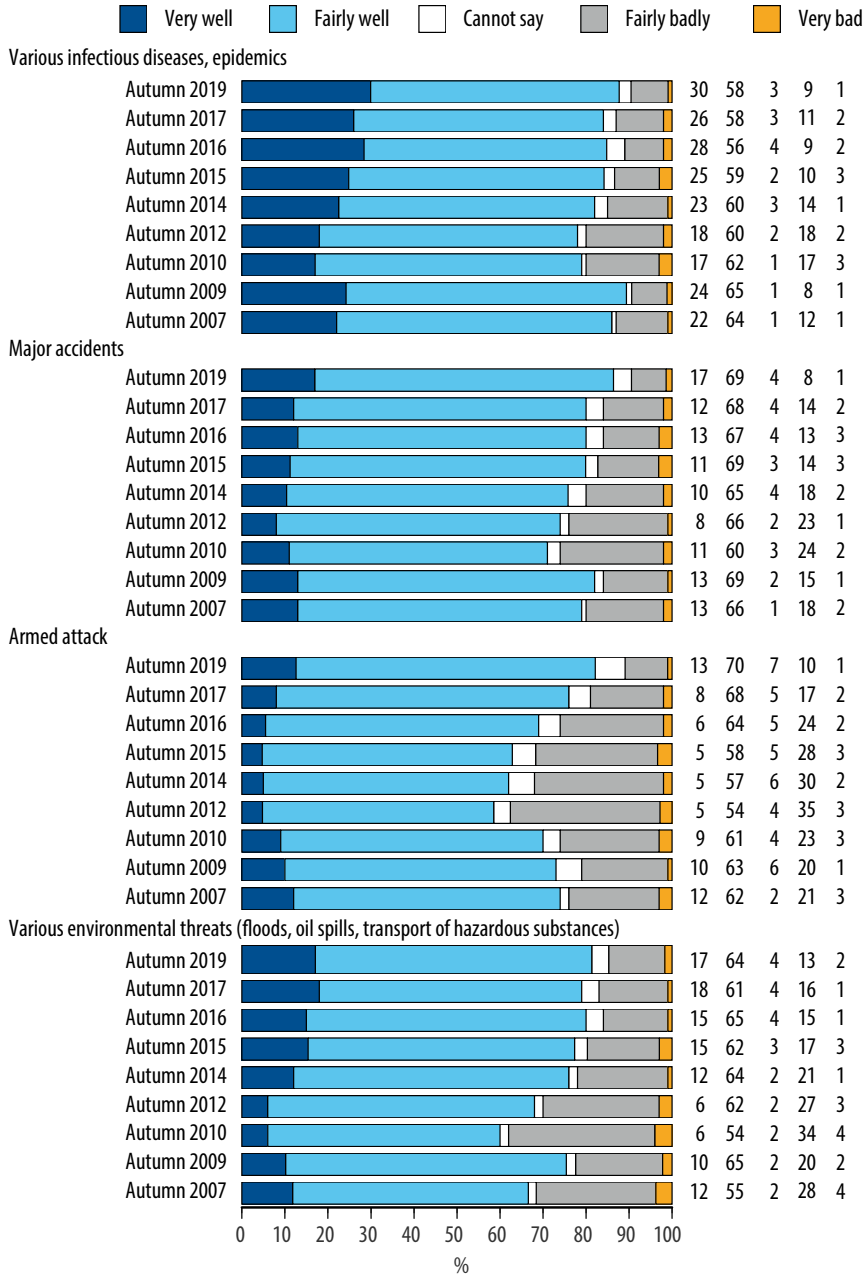
*"How well do you think Finland has prepared for the following security threats?"*



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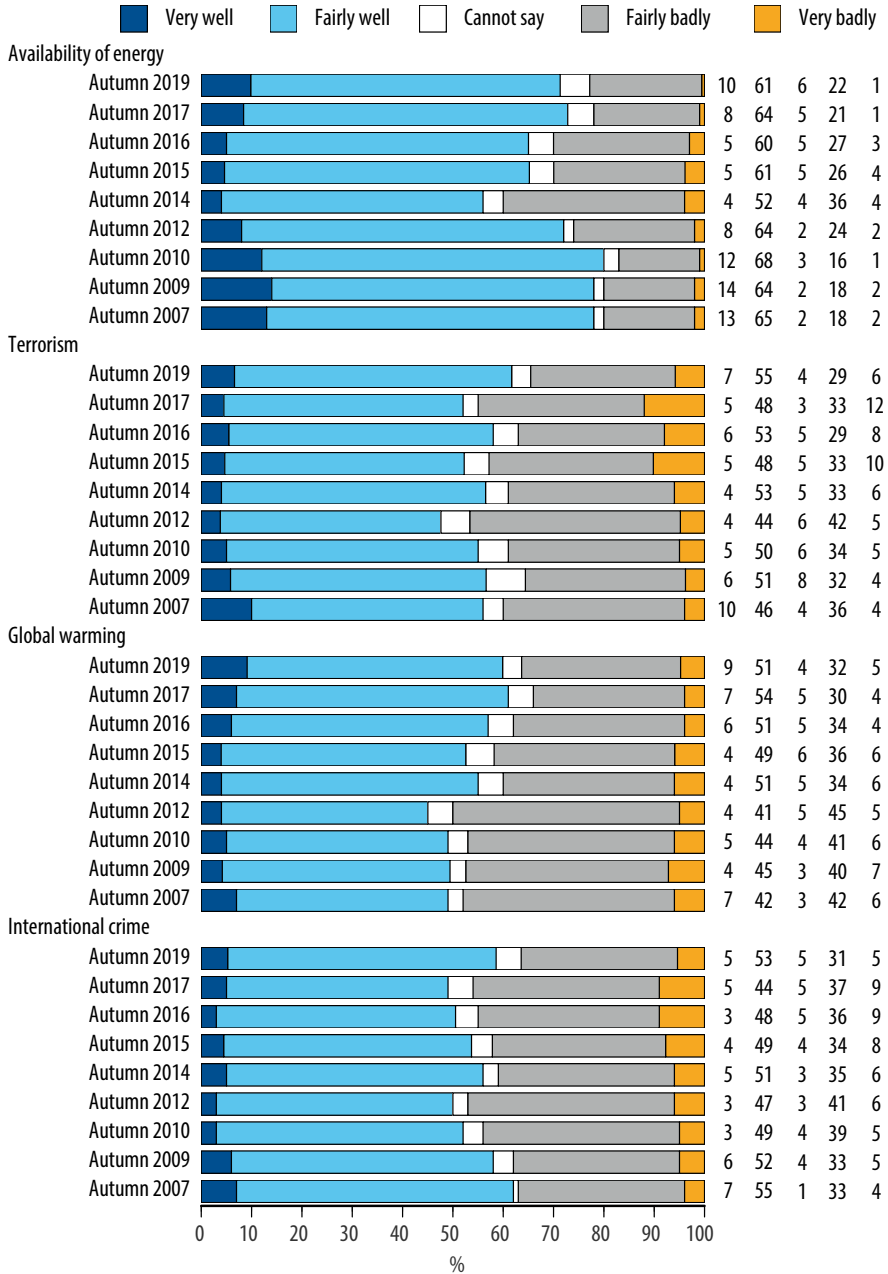
**Figure 44. Preparedness for various threats (I)**

"How well do you think Finland has prepared for the following security threats?"



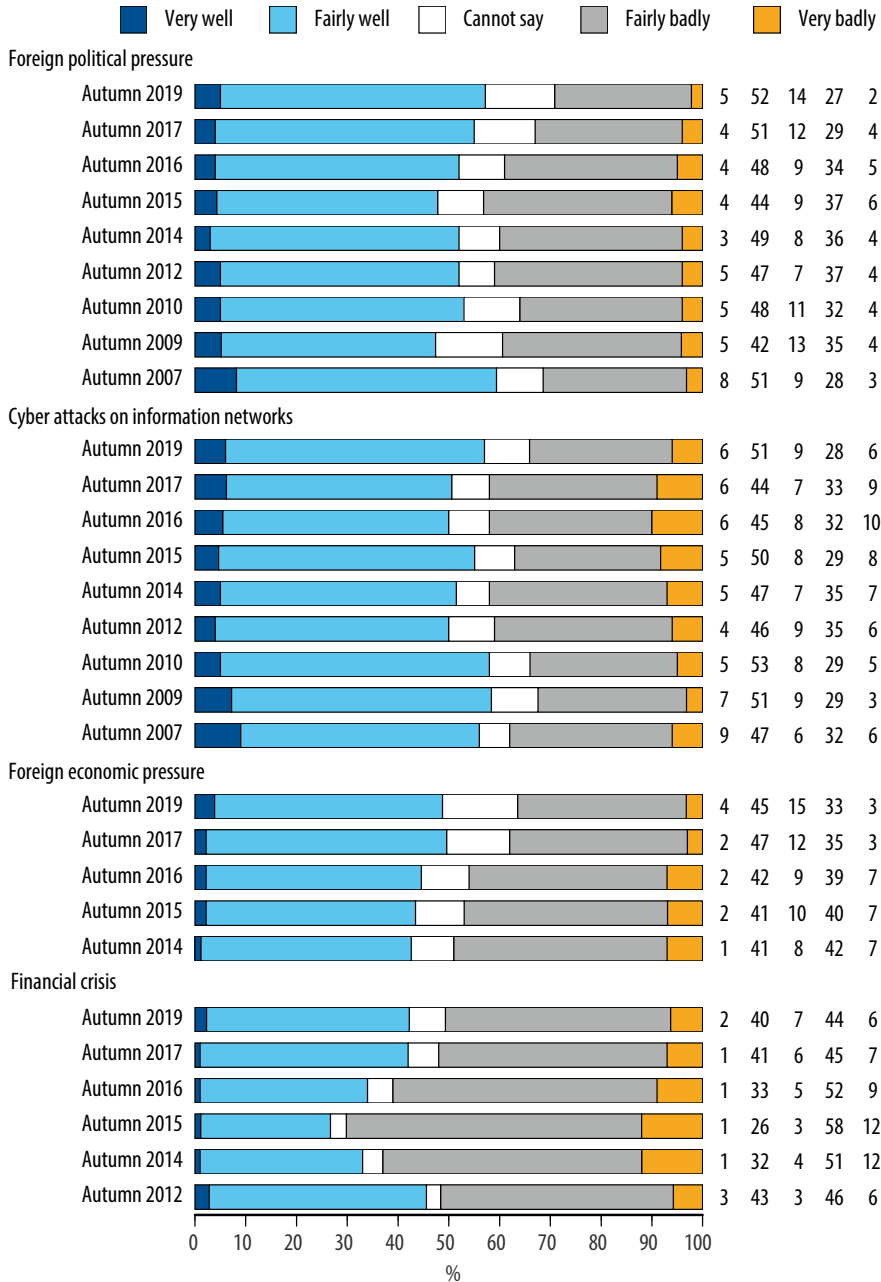
**Figure 45. Preparedness for various threats (II)**

"How well do you think Finland has prepared for the following security threats?"



**Figure 46. Preparedness for various threats (III)**

"How well do you think Finland has prepared for the following security threats?"





## The Advisory Board for Defence Information (ABDI)

Set up by the Government, the Advisory Board for Defence Information (ABDI) is a permanent Parliamentary Committee, which administratively functions in the Ministry of Defence. In addition to parliamentary members, ABDI's members represent various expert organisations: the Prime Minister's Office, Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Ministry of the Interior, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Education and Culture, Defence Command Finland, Finnish Broadcasting Company, Finnish News Agency (STT), Union of Journalists in Finland, Finnish Media Federation, National Defence University, and Tampere Peace Research Institute (TAPRI).

ABDI investigates, on an annual basis, the opinions and attitudes of Finns towards security policy and the factors influencing them and conducts at least one extensive survey that covers the entire adult population in Finland. The questions cover foreign and security policy and national defence. Some of the questions represent a continuous sequence since the 1960s. The surveys by ABDI are in the public domain and accessible to all.

The Advisory Board for Defence Information (ABDI)

Ministry of Defence

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[www.defmin.fi/abdi](http://www.defmin.fi/abdi)